

15 June 1993



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JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

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Near East & South Asia

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JPRS-NEA-93-076

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International Affairs

U.S. Said Blocking Sales of European Tanks

93AS0778F Lahore *THE NATION* in English
4 Apr 93 pp 1, 4

[Article by Anwer Sindhu: "U.S. Embargo on European Tanks Sale to Pakistan"]

[Text] Islamabad—The United States government has effectively placed an embargo on any major European arms sale to Pakistan, asking its NATO allies and East European recipients of financial assistance to await a final decision on Islamabad's inclusion or deletion from the State Department's list of terrorist nations, Western military sources disclosed.

The move by Washington comes as a blow to Pakistan's efforts to purchase an armoured division of tanks from Europe, whether they are 72M1 tanks from Poland or Slovakia, Chieftains from Britain or the LeClerc and AMX Super 30 tanks being offered by France.

The most serious effect of America's unofficial veto will be on Pakistan's efforts to buy 320 T72s from Eastern Europe. With the Indian armoured advantage steadily growing, the government has been under great pressure to finalise a deal before July 1, when the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) treaty comes into force. Further, both the Slovaks and the Poles have made repeated entreaties to Pakistan to quickly finalise a deal, knowing fully that once the CFE takes effect, it will be virtually impossible for either of them to sign a contract with Pakistan for any arms sale. Any sale after June 30 would result in an automatic suspension of economic aid from the West for either country. It is highly likely that this prompted the late entry of the United Kingdom industrial consortium, led by Marconi Radar and Control Systems, and [word illegible] Industries of France, into the tank sale arena.

The British offer was officially discussed for the first time during Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's one-day trip to London last week. However, unlike the other offers, any tank deal with Britain would be tied together with a deal to buy half a dozen ex-Royal Navy Type 21 frigates. These would replace the eight U.S. Navy ships currently in service with the Pakistan Navy, which the Pentagon will repossess on expiry of lease because of the Pressler Amendment.

While Britain had indicated in February that it was interested in selling the tanks to Pakistan, it was not until March 21 that an official letter of interest was received by Defence Production Minister Hazar Khan Bijarani from the British High Commission. The offer comes after the British Army decided to phase out the Chieftain in favour of the more advanced Challenger series. Thus Britain is looking for potential buyers for the 800 Chieftains being phased out from the British Army on the Rhine.

Britain is targetting Pakistan's obvious shortage of funds by offering three options on the proposed sale of these second-hand tanks. The simplest offer is the straightforward sale of 300-plus Chieftain MK10 tanks, at 100,000 pounds sterling each, an older model which is basically an update of the Chieftains manufactured in the early 1970s. Option No. 2 involves the replacement of the Chieftain's L60 engine, considered the major weak point in the vehicle, with a Perkins Shrewsbury V-12 Condor engine, which develops 800 bhp in comparison to the 650 bhp of the L-60. The Condor has recently undergone trials in the Chieftain, coupled to a new TN12 transmission.

However, what the British are really hoping to sell is a major upgrade package, which could extend the operational life of the Chieftain into the next century. This proposal envisages an upgraded version of the Mk12 Chieftains coming fitted with Stillbrew passive armour and Marconi's Centaur computerised fire control system, something else which has recently been tested on the Chieftain. The Chieftain's Barr and Shroud thermal observation and gunnery sights would be replaced with a Marconi thermal imaging system. The British are also examining the possibility of replacing the Chieftain's current Royal Ordnance 120mm L11 rifled tank gun at a later stage with a smoothbore gun, enabling the use of more modern ammunition.

The British are offering a complete transfer of technology, with conversion work taking place at Heavy Industries Taxila. Initially, components would come from Britain, being replaced with locally-manufactured parts in due course.

While the final price on this option is still not clear, it is estimated that these tanks would cost in the range of 200,000 pounds sterling. Further negotiations are expected during a planned visit of the British Chief of General Staff, scheduled for the coming months.

A spokesman for the British High Commission confirmed that an offer had been made, saying, "British companies have always been active in Pakistan looking for potential markets. It is well known that a requirement exists for a main battle tank till the Al-Khalid is inducted. Our offer is based on the Chieftains now coming out of service with the British Army on the Rhine."

The French offer counters the relative low price of the British proposal with an offer of \$400 million in credit, spread over 12 years at 8.1 per cent interest per annum. Their two-pronged bid offers both the hi-tech LeClerc, the first in a new generation of Western tanks, and the older, second-hand AMX Super 30 tank currently in service with the French Army. Already, the French have offered to send the two existing LeClerc for tests and trials to Pakistan, once they are through being put through their paces by the Saudi and Kuwaiti armies. In fact, it was only after the UAE government signed an

agreement in February to purchase 436 LeClerc tanks that the French felt able to offer a massive credit package to Pakistan.

The major drawback in the proposed LeClerc deal is its prohibitive price, estimated at \$4.5 million. However, the French feel that the superior technology of the tank make it serious contender in any arms market. The LeClerc employs second-generation TRT Thompson electronics to laser-guide the advanced APFSDS [expansion not given] ammunition fired from its 120mm smoothbore gun. The French claim that the tank's advanced electronics enabled it to engage the enemy 4000 metres, compared to the 1500-2000m range common to most other tanks in service in the world. The LeClerc also has an advanced radar jamming facility, which is said to render most potential enemy tanks "blind." The LeClerc's MTU engine develops 1500 bhp.

The second package on offer involves the AMX Super 30 main battle tank, currently in service with the French and Saudi armies. The "Super" is an upgraded version of the original AMX 30, with the 105mm gun having been replaced with a more powerful 120mm smoothbore gun almost three years ago. The AMX Super 30, which was used by the Saudis during Operation Desert Storm, uses first-generation TRT Thompson electronics and a 1280 bhp Unidiesel engine. However, even though it is a second-hand tank, its relative newness means that it comes with a price tag of \$1.5 million.

Although negotiations continue with Britain, France, Slovakia and Poland, there is a growing realisation in GHQ [General Headquarters] that the preferred T72 option has fallen victim to international politics. The blind eye that was previously turned to the delay tactics of various vested interests representing the different foreign lobbies is now angrily opening because of the growing urgency of the situation. The recent and largely successful trials of India's indigenously produced Arjun tank has also focussed attention on the snail-paced progress with which the Al-Khalid project is proceeding. There is speculation that current Pakistan Ordnance Factories boss Maj. Gen. Mahmood Ali Durrani, an armoured corps man, may be transferred to Heavy Industries Taxila to get Al-Khalid back on schedule.

Meanwhile, a GHQ delegation is planning a visit to China to explore the possibility of purchasing 300 further T-85 tanks, in case politics blocks any purchase from Europe. Pakistan signed a deal with China for the sale of 200 T-85s in 1989, 100 of which have already been inducted. The T-85, which was shown off in this year's Pakistan Day parade for the first time, is basically what the Al-Khalid will eventually be.

U.S. Concern Over Nuclear Program Seen Selective, Biased

93AS0793K Lahore *THE NATION* in English
8 Apr 93 p 6

[Article by Ghani Eirabie: "How Honest Is U.S. Nuclear Concern?"]

[Text] Wilful non-registration of "F.I.R.s" [First Information Report] has been developed into fine art in both Pakistan and U.S.A.—in Pakistan by SHOs [Station House Officer] to protect palm-greasing criminals and in the U.S.A. by policy-makers to pamper regional surrogates. The technique is the same: avoid catching the protegee in the act. Sindhi Waderas and Baluch Sardars frequently manage to get away with abduction, rape and murder because of their far-sightedness in ensuring that only police officers of their choice are posted to their fiefs and the officers are induced to acquire the unique faculty of "going blind" as and when required. But whereas the Pakistani SHO's have to tax their minds to locate loopholes in the common law applicable to all, the U.S. policy-makers follow the easier option of framing laws that are "country-specific"—legislation laying down by name that if Harry was found carrying a Kalashnikov, he was to be arrested, but no notice be taken of Tom or Dick building an arsenal. The so-called Pressler Amendment falls in this category; it says, if "Pakistan" acquires a nuclear device, it is to be black-listed. The identification by name was necessary to shield South Africa, Israel and India who already have acquired the device.

By a strange twist of logic, at the time the Pressler Amendment was passed by the Senate sub-committee back in 1985, it was claimed as "discriminating in favour" of Pakistan. This analyst was told by a Congressional staffer they were doing Pakistan a favour by exempting it from the "prohibitions" of the Symington and Glenn Amendments, violated by Pakistan's pursuit of the nuclear option. Asked why these "prohibitions" were not invoked against South Africa, Israel and India for their offence, he said the Committee was officially unaware of any offence by the three. No such information or charge had been communicated to them by the Administration.

The cases in which the Congress and the Administration choose to "hear no evil", "see no evil" and "speak no evil" are secretly decided in advance by mutual consultations by top policy-makers. This is tellingly illustrated by two incidents. On September 22, 1979, U.S. satellite "Vela" detected a nuclear blast over the south Atlantic; a New Zealand laboratory reported radioactive rainfall; the U.S. network CBS was quoted by the *Christian Science Monitor* of February 25, 1980 as saying: it was a joint Israeli-South African nuclear bomb test, but fearing it would require stopping of the huge U.S. assistance to Israel, the Carter White House had a panel of experts declare, the explosion "probably" was not caused by a nuclear device—which, however was challenged by the U.S.A.'s own Defence Intelligence Agency insisting it was a nuclear explosion. But the "not guilty" verdict prevailed. However South Africa's Prime Minister admitted last month his country had built up a nuclear arsenal but had liquidated it since. And taking cognizance of the testimony of Israeli technician Vannuna from Israel's nuclear complex Dimona vide London's *Sunday Times* of October 1986 and other evidence,

British and American scientists have declared Israel to be the sixth largest nuclear power. But far from being punished for any violation of U.S. anti-proliferation laws, Israel has had its military and economic aid package raised from two to three billion dollars a year. For U.S.A. still has no "F.I.R." on record testifying to Israel's nuclear capability (It had a U.N. report to that effect impounded. In the other incident, President Carter who cut off all assistance to Pakistan in 1979 under the Symington and Glenn Amendments on charge of Pakistan acquiring nuclear capability, himself supplied 38 tons of enriched uranium to India in June 1980, in defiance of U.S. law and in the teeth of fierce resistance from his own Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the House of Representatives besides the national Press which reminded him of India's explosion of a nuclear device with the help of heavy water supplied by the U.S.A. But no cognizable offence was registered.

A still heavier blow to U.S. credibility was dealt by the White House persuading France to continue to supply India the nuclear fuel that the U.S.A. under its law could no longer provide, even as it forced France to cancel its contract with Pakistan for the sale of a nuclear power-plant. And yet again, even as the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi confessed in his June 5, 1985 interview to LE MONDE that India could put together a bomb in months, if not weeks, President Reagan rewarded India with a massive supply of dual-purpose technology and recognition of India's regional power role vis-a-vis Sri Lanka and the Maldives. For officially, the U.S.A. has still not recorded an "F.I.R." against India's explosion of a nuclear device in 1974, nor against its refusal to place some 27 of its 32 nuclear installations under IAEA [International Atomic Energy Commission] safeguards or sign NPT or accept half a dozen Pakistani proposals to settle the issue regionally, including the latest for a five-power conference.

But the question is how long the United States would continue to turn a blind eye to the nuclear stockpiles of Israel and India. The evidence now is too strong to be brushed aside. The new CIA Director James Woolsey, in his testimony before the U.S. Senate's Governmental Affairs Committee, on February 24, 1993, conceded that "India's programme, older and probably larger than Pakistan's, culminated in 1974 with a nuclear detonation and we are convinced, has progressed from there. Committee Chairman Senator Glenn, a long-term foe of Pakistan, intervened to say: "India may be classified among the countries which unofficially possess nuclear weapons.—There have been Press reports that India can assemble about 25 nuclear weapons in a matter of days, and Pakistan, 15."

The Senator quoted a Russian Foreign Intelligence Service Report as saying during the period 1970-78, Israel had probably 20 nuclear weapons, and by this time, from 100 to 200. The CIA Director responded, he would prefer to discuss the subject on a "classified" basis, that is behind closed-doors.

In response to another question, Woolsey suggested India might be experimenting with the hydrogen bomb saying, "India's Bhaba Atomic Research Centre [BARC] has shown an interest in materials that are necessary for the development of "thermonuclear" as distinct from just nuclear weapons. In response to a question about delivery-vehicle, the CIA Director said: "India's interest in space launch vehicle technology because of its nuclear programme is troubling—because space launch vehicle technology is very similar to and it's applicable toward developing ballistic missiles." U.S. scientist Leonard Spector of the Carnegie Endowment told the Committee, Pakistan might end the present freeze on its nuclear programme because of India's commissioning of the Prithvi missile.

The Stockholm International Peace Institute in its report released on 3.3 1993 estimates India can make 60 bombs and Pakistan up to 10—and Israel 100.

Even more startling are the disclosures made in the September 1992 issue of the "Bulletin of Atomic scientists" by U.S. scientist David Albright and Germany's Mark Hibbs. One, India is estimated to have had an inventory of 200 kgs of weapons-grade plutonium, enough for 50 weapons, by 1991 and would have stockpiled enough for 65 weapons by 1995. Two, India is believed to have designed nuclear devices that are "smaller, lighter and more deliverable," made possible by India's import of beryllium during the 1980s. And three, in addition to combat aircraft able to deliver nuclear weapons, India is developing "nuclear-capable" missiles—the Agni capable of carrying a payload of between 500 and 1,000 kgms over a range of 1,000 to 1,500 miles and the Prithvi that can carry a nuclear warhead about 150 miles, "far enough to hit targets in Pakistan. The two scientists point out "The Agni missile's 'inaccuracy' has increased suspicions by the U.S. officials that the Agni is intended to carry a nuclear payload."

The international scientists' conclusion that India "has quietly been making nuclear weapons advances" has been endorsed by the *New York Times* which in its January 31, 1993 editorial said: "India's ruling party has been quietly building the bomb, as well as a mighty military establishment. The Hindu fundamentalist Party, BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], is currying favour with the nationalists by flaunting India's status as a nuclear power. Pakistan still says it is willing to stop bomb-making if India does. India is balking. The U.S. and others can induce India to cooperate. India wants improved political and economic ties with the U.S. and allies like Japan and Britain. They can be held up pending a favourable response on nuclear talks." However, the Paper refrains from calling for an end to the discrimination between India and Pakistan. In fact, not since 1987 when Senators Inouye and Kasten sponsored a resolution in the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee seeking to equate India and Pakistan in terms of penalties and exemptions (or 1989 when President Carter noted the iniquity of clamping down a

"country-specific" ban on Pakistan) has any credible move been made to redress the continuing wrong against Pakistan. On the contrary, while Pakistan is being asked to "roll back" its nuclear programme to the 1989 level, initiatives are underway to extend recognition to India's nuclear accomplishments up-to-date and just request it not to push much beyond. In fact, those more enamoured of benefits of "realpolitik" than moral principles go to the extent of advocating that America's policy must be changed from "nuclear non-proliferation" to "nuclear restraint."

In the Carnegie Study Group's February 15, 1993 Report on Indo-American relations, Selig Harrison and Geoffrey Kemp write: "Instead of seeking to induce India to give up its nuclear option, the United States should shift from a focus on non-proliferation in South Asia to a policy designed to maintain nuclear restraint. Such a policy would seek to freeze the stockpiling of fissile material for weapons purposes. The initial focus of a new and more realistic nuclear policy in South Asia should be to commit both New Delhi and Islamabad not to export militarily-related nuclear technology, especially to the Middle East..."

A pathetic preoccupation with Israeli security seems to be a single item agenda of the U.S.A.'s foreign policy.

It colours Washington's entire attitude towards Pakistan—even spawning the threat of pinning the "terrorist" rap on Pakistan.

The Carnegie Study further urges U.S. policy makers not to hinder India's missiles project, because like its nuclear weapons programme, this too enjoys "overwhelming domestic support." It warns Washington that "U.S. initiatives to mobilise international efforts to deny India access to missile technology could damage overall U.S. interests", and asks it not to block Indian efforts to obtain Russian cryogenic [as published] rocket engines technology for its Agni missiles. Washington should block, it pleads, only technology that would enable India to produce Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM's), insofar as India's "medium-range and intermediate-range missiles such as Agni, targeted on regional adversaries (like Pakistan and China) would not pose a threat to the Continental United States."

The puzzling question in conclusion is: what lies behind this sudden rush of registration of "F.I.R.s" against India's nuclear capability is it to equate the culpability of India and Pakistan by subjecting both to the U.S.A.'s anti-nuclear legislation, including the Pressler Amendment, or exempting both; or is it to prepare the ground for recognition of India as a nuclear weapons state to counter-balance China's status under NPT. There is still no evidence of the first no indication of any relaxation of action against Pakistan while there is increasing evidence of a strong Western desire to accommodate India's concerns about China, notwithstanding the fact that if India's concerns vis-a-vis China are accommodated, concerns of Japan and Turkey in respect of Russia, of

Germany and Central Europe in regard to France or Britain, and of Canada and Central America vis-a-vis the U.S.A., cannot be ignored which would tear NPT wide open. But that probably is the intention opening it wide enough to let India ride in as a nuclear weapons state. India seems all set to break direct into the "Big Time", the goal publicly proclaimed by the Indian delegation led by Bhabani Sen Gupta that visited Islamabad in 1987. The timeframe set by the Indian delegation was the mid-1990s, apparently designed to coincide with the revision of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), due in 1995. Of course, to show its reasonableness, India would be willing to settle for a permanent seat in the U.N. Security Council, in lieu of admission to NPT as a nuclear weapons state.

Relations With U.S., Seen Suffering 'Grave Blow'

93AS07771 Karachi DAWN in English 13 Apr 93 p 11

[Editorial: "The Charge of Terrorism"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Whether the recent meeting between Pakistan's Federal Minister, Chaudhry Nisar Ali, who went to Washington as the Prime Minister's special emissary, the U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, assuaged the United States' declared concern about Pakistan's alleged involvement in abetment of terrorism in Indian-held Kashmir is not quite clear. The State Department's spokesman did not go beyond confirming that the discussions had been "frank" and concerned issues relating to India-Pakistan tensions and terrorism and that the matter was being kept under review. In January there were reports suggesting that the U.S. had put Pakistan on the "watch list" for a period of six months and more recently it has been stated that Washington would issue a list of "terrorist states" at the end of April. Chaudhry Nisar Ali, on his part, gave Mr Warren Christopher every assurance that Pakistan was opposed to terrorism in any form and would be willing to extend its cooperation to Washington to combat it.

There is no denying that the rising crescendo of India's propaganda targeted against Pakistan is linked to the growing intensity of the insurgency in the valley and New Delhi's frustration at its failure to bring it under control despite the deployment of a 500,000-strong Army in the occupied state. Ever since the uprising began in December 1989, Kashmir has seen some of the most brutal atrocities being perpetrated upon the freedom-fighters but the struggle has continued to grow in intensity and scale. Lately the resistance has further intensified and for about a week there have been intermittent street battles between the freedom-fighters and the Indian armed forces in and around Srinagar.

Pakistan has never made any secret of its moral, political and diplomatic support to the Kashmiri freedom-fighters. The struggle, however, is totally indigenous, prompted by the Kashmiris being denied their right of self-determination under the relevant U.N. resolutions,

to which India had in fact been a party and to which, the United States, as a permanent member of the Security Council, stands committed. At his press conference following the meeting at the State Department, Chaudhry Nisar Ali once again stated that India's charge against Pakistan of providing material aid to the freedom fighters remained altogether unsubstantiated and that India's motive in blaming Pakistan was to cloud the basic issue of the Kashmiris' right to self-determination and its brutal suppression by India. Pakistan has repeatedly offered its Western friends the opportunity to have the Line of Control in the disputed state monitored by neutral observers to ascertain the veracity (or otherwise) of the charges being levelled against Pakistan.

The United States must realise that any talk of Pakistan being looked upon as a terrorist state is a source of anguish and bewilderment to Pakistanis. For over four decades during the cold war Pakistan maintained a close strategic alliance with the U.S., often at grave risk to its own security. Before the collapse of the Soviet Union, Afghanistan, as a frontline state, was of vital strategic interest to the U.S. and as such Washington had no reservations about making common cause with Pakistan in dealing with the Soviet aggression. By contrast, the U.S. now appears inclined to view Pakistan's moral and diplomatic support to the Kashmiri freedom struggle as amounting to terrorism and interference in India's "internal" affairs, regardless of Kashmir's internationally recognised status as a disputed territory. This brings direct encouragement to India in its attempt to drown the Kashmiri freedom struggle in blood.

It is also no secret that Pakistanis commonly perceive the United States' ostensible concern about Pakistan's alleged involvement with cross-border "terrorism" as an excuse for exerting pressure on Pakistan in the context of its nuclear programme. Another possible reason for bandying about the terrorism charge, as far as Pakistanis can see it, may be a U.S. desire to foster and cement a strategic relationship with India as part of Washington's post-cold war scheme for Asia. If this is so, it is real politik at its crudest. Again, it is possible that the lobby which is keen to have Pakistan stigmatised as a terrorist state supposes a link of some sort exists between 'fundamentalism' and Pakistan's support for the Kashmiri freedom struggle and therefore thinks this will be a good strategy for combating 'fundamentalism'.

Whatever may have provided the impulse for the current drive, classifying Pakistan as a practitioner of terrorism will be a grave blow to a traditional friendship, will cause a serious setback to the freedom movement in Kashmir and will give a tremendous boost to India's hegemonic ambitions in South Asia and the Indian Ocean region. While the country must prepare itself for all eventualities, it is well worth mobilising all diplomatic resources and skills at our command and enlisting the cooperation of all our friends for adequately representing our case

and that of the beleaguered Kashmiri freedom fighters before world opinion. And ours—and Kashmir's—is indeed a good case.

Ambassador Monjo Seen Comical, Hypocritical

93AS0778E Lahore THE NATION in English
9 Apr 93 p 4

[Article by Zafar Samdani: "Star-Spangled Signals"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The United States of America has produced some brilliant humorists. From Mark Twain to Will Cuppy and Damon Runyan on the one side and gag writers of Bob Hope and Woody Allen's work on the other, is a list of creative people of whom any nation can be proud. The arrival of another talented personality on this scene is hence no surprise. Indeed it was expected of the superpower to continue maintaining the momentum of the tradition. The latest addition to this inventory of extraordinary talent is Ambassador John Monjo who has earned his place in the hall of fame for American humorists with a one-liner capsulising his country's policy on domestic affairs of other countries.

Envoy Monjo reportedly made a reference to Pakistan during a briefing in Islamabad for newspaper editors and senior journalists on March 31. He is quoted as stating that "we do not have an opinion as to who sits on what chair in Pakistan." This policy could not be restricted to Pakistan. The implications have to be international. The U.S., in short, is not merely concerned with some chairs (irrespective of their strength or weakness) or some individuals in some country or the other. This attitude has been and remains a cornerstone of the U.S. policy towards all nations and its applicability is without exceptions.

It has not been reported if journalists invited the Ambassador to back words with examples; the Ambassador could have done that endlessly. Mr Monjo could have placed on display a track record establishing the non-challengeability of the authenticity of the American policy in this respect. It covers the entire spectrum too innumerable events since World War II in South America, the Far East, the Mid East, Africa and Asia and wherever there was a clear case of interfering but the U.S. desisted for policy constraints, can be cited to supplement the point. If journalists had still harboured misgivings, they could have been reminded of the "horrible example" quote which summed up the sentiments of a former U.S. Secretary of State, Mr Henry Kissinger, towards a former Prime Minister of Pakistan, the late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

'Innumerable' is, however, an inaccurate expression. Writing about Russian Queen Katherine the Great, in his "Rise and Fall of Practically Everybody," Will Cuppy had said—this is not an exact quote as I cannot lay my hands on the book at this time—that according to historians, she had innumerable loves. They are wrong, wrote Cuppy, continuing that she never had more than

three hundred and that they could be counted. The same is true of the American policy on non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. The list of acts of such non-interference is countable and much shorter than lovers of Queen Katherine. Vietnam, Kampuchea, Congo (remember Lumumba), Chile, Panama, Afghanistan, a few other incidents and that is that. The Middle East cannot be placed in this bracket because the Americans are merely trying to ensure that against the devouring of an unarmed Israel by stone-throwing Palestinians armed with catapults.

The only pursuit of the U.S. was democracy. The U.S., Mr Monjo said, had "strong views that elected governments are not pulled down. If democracy works, we have no other objection." The U.S. support for Gen Zia and reaction to the dismissal of the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] government fit this policy frame like a pair of custom-made gloves.

Some other contents of the envoy's briefing make absorbing reading on another count. Here is not a wit but a grimacier, humour deep black and pregnant with potential for frightening off specific readers because of timing and implications of his briefing. Washington, he said, required a 'rational period' to evaluate how Pakistan matched its words and deeds regarding support for terrorism. There was no deadline, but neither was the wait to be extended till eternity. The decision could "come in two days or in months but not in two years." A coincidence that the rational period should match the expected duration of Pakistan's latest political crises. Things should come to a head in less than two months' time.

Generally, however, the pronouncements of Ambassador Monjo were in an amusing vein—one should refrain from subscribing to the not uncommon view holding them threats; the diplomat obviously believes he would have the last laugh. He came out as more than a mere humorist, unlike the names mentioned at the start, emerging as an original thinker too. Only a gifted person could have defined the exact difference between terrorism and violation of human rights. Said Monjo at the briefing: "If Indian tanks and army attacked Kashmiri people, it would not be terrorism but a violation of human rights." A finer demarcation of the two areas one had not come across; this was perception at its most penetrating perfect. Human rightists in Pakistan should take a cue if they were not already on to his enlightened path of reasoning.

The fine delineation, however, needs to be elaborated. Here is a possible interpretation. If children in Occupied Kashmir are orphaned because of unarmed protestors getting murdered and when women are raped for standing up for their rights or simply because of their origins, it is a violation of human rights; when the people of the subjugated Valley rise against the trampling of their rights, human rights included, they become guilty of terrorism. This has no bearing on the charge against

Pakistan of providing covert support to the freedom-fighters. It can be correct or wrong. The very act of providing support to a repressed people is an act of terrorism.

Besides being an incisive wit and an innovative intellectual, the Ambassador is also a realist. In Afghanistan, Pakistan and the United States had joined hands, forces and resources to fight the Communist invasion of that country. He was confronted with this reference to recent contemporary history in the making of which his country had fully participated. Was it terrorism or violation of human rights? Mr Monjo apparently did not defend his country's role in the Afghanistan war. He defended the American law about terrorism, nevertheless, which shows loyalty each citizen of a country must produce under pressure or challenge. He had done his job. We must do ours now.

What he intended to achieve through the Press conference, besides stressing the American commitment to non-interference in domestic politics of a country, in this case, Pakistan, is not clear, at least to me. Perhaps, he wants Pakistan to assist India in controlling the struggle of the Kashmiris for freedom. Pakistan has definitely tried not to add fuel to the raging fire by disallowing Kashmiris on this side from crossing the Line of Control [LoC]. This was done at some cost to human lives and was, as far as the Kashmiris are concerned, not a popular decision. The possibility of another attempt at crossing the LoC remains. But, perhaps, Ambassador Monjo wishes Pakistan to make a more concrete contribution. Should Pakistan send troops to India to assist it fight internal terrorism?[sentence as published] Would that absolve Pakistan of the charge of being a terrorist country? One does not know. But Pakistan must "realise the implications of being a terrorist state," says the envoy, as quoted by some newspapers. We owe the Ambassador a debt of gratitude for holding the light.

The U.S. envoy said a lot at his briefing. One can agree to his articulations and observations or reject them. One can call him a talented wit, an intellectual, a philosopher, a realist. It is all a matter of opinion. But there can be no two views about one comment. Calling terrorism as critical for the relations of the two countries, he clarified that there was no barometer to watch this (terrorist) activity. He said: "There are no real red or yellow or green signals." This goes uncontested: there are only Star-Spangled Signals.

U.S. Ambassador's remarks may be interpreted thus: If children in Occupied Kashmir are orphaned because of unarmed protestors getting murdered and women are raped for standing up for their rights or simply because of their origins, it is a violation of human rights, when the people of the subjugated Valley rise against the trampling of their rights, human rights included, they become guilty of terrorism—and the very act of providing support, whatever it is, to a repressed people, it too is an act of terrorism.

Calling terrorism as critical for the relations of the two countries—Pakistan and U.S.—the American Ambassador clarified that there was no barometer to watch their (terrorist) activity. He said: "There are no red or yellow or green signals." This goes uncontested: There are only Star-Spangled Signals.

U.S. Said Penalizing Nation for 'Other Nations' Sins'

93AS0793J Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English
16 Apr 93 p 14

[Article by Hazoor Ahmed Shah: "Penalising Pakistan for Other Nations' Sins"]

[Text] What is not surprising is the India-Israel lobby's crude attempt to isolate Pakistan from the free, civilised comity of nations, what is surprising is that the American humanists and human rights champions should connive at the worst form of state terrorism being employed wantonly on the freedom fighters in Kashmir and Palestine. If Pakistan is being penalised for giving moral, political and diplomatic support to the people of India-held Kashmir as well as calling on the international community to stop repressive state measures in Kashmir and Palestine why not the same yardstick is applied in the case of condemnable violators of international law, justice and morality?

Is it not a fact that Kashmir on the U.N.'s official record is a disputed territory and, therefore, the relentless fight in blood and tears which the Kashmiri men, women and children are giving for the restitution of their inalienable right to self-determination is in accordance with the letter and spirit of the U.N. resolutions. Does it not lie with the U.S. administration to see both sides of the picture while forming its judgement on the core irritant of Kashmir between Pakistan and India? The struggle in the occupied Kashmir is wholly indigenous as is evident from the daily strikes and protest demonstrations accordingly to dub those among them who resist the excesses of Indian security forces with whatever arms they can lay their hands on as "terrorists" is tantamount to encouraging the usurper to perpetuate his fascist hold over the rightful owners of the internationally-recognised disputed territory. When it comes to reckoning, the U.S. as the pre-supposed keeper of world conscience cannot absolve itself of its double standard policy for not dealing with India and Pakistan on the same plane of justice, morality and equilibrium.

Branding Pakistan a "terrorist" state because Pakistan cannot in self-defence roll back its nuke programme though it is ready to simultaneously sign with India on the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty], and letting India go scot free with its already acquired nuclear capability, its continued experimentation with war-ravishing ballistic missiles and its systematic cleansing of the Kashmiri freedom-fighters—all this is something hardly expected

of unipower supposedly destined to bring about a New World Order (NWO) based on international law, justice and morality.

A point Pakistan has persistently sought to drive home to the U.S. Administration is that the bitter popular upsurge aided by the Kashmiri militants' resistance to the trigger-happy Indian security forces is due to India's forcible occupation of the greater part of Jammu and Kashmir and the denial of Kashmiris' right to self-determination. Unless the root cause of blood turmoil in Kashmir is not resolved politically with Pakistan and the Kashmiri representatives. Pakistan cannot be expected to leave the harassed, repressed and subjugated people in the lurch.

As for the unsubstantiated charges of "equipping, training and smuggling the terrorists across the Line of Control (LOC)" Pakistan has already thrown its border open for any international agencies observers to see things for themselves. In fact, visits to Azad Kashmir up to the LOC by foreign dignitaries and independent observers/delegations have been continuing unhindered, while on the Indian side of Kashmir there has been a total ban on such visits. The latest is the protest lodged by a visiting Amnesty International representative attending as observer to the conference of 500 MPs [Military Police] from around the world in New Delhi that India was not keeping its promise to allow members of human rights organisation to tour Kashmir and Punjab. Yvonne Terlingen, who heads Amnesty's Asian research wing, said in an interview in New Delhi, the Indian government had described as "inappropriate", her request to visit Bombay to investigate reports that police had sided with Hindus, particularly against Muslims, in the recent riots. Besides, she added, the Indian government had reneged on a pledge made in November last year to allow Amnesty to visit Kashmir.

Meanwhile, Pakistan has appealed to the international community to press on India to end its reign of terror in occupied Kashmir. "The world community must convince the Indian government to rescind its futile attempts to coerce the Kashmiris into submission", a Foreign Office spokesman said, adding the Indian occupation forces have escalated their brutal crackdown against the Kashmiris by indulging in acts of arson, indiscriminate murder, arrest, detention and torture of innocent persons. New records for atrocities have been set by the Indian military and paramilitary forces in the last two weeks with at least 150 Kashmiris killed and several hundred persons injured seriously.

As for the Bombay's inhuman bomb blasts, Pakistan has offered to cooperate with India in locating the suspects, but the Foreign Office spokesman complained the Indian authorities have not provided sufficient and solid information to Pakistan in this connection. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif told his Indian counterpart that Pakistan has already set up a task force for hauling up the

Memon brothers of Bombay, the alleged terrorists, in case they happened to have arrived clandestinely in Pakistan.

In another development, the on-going operation against foreigners, including the Arab nationals residing in Pakistan illegally is continuing on a uniform and non-discriminatory basis. The Foreign Office spokesman made it clear that Pakistan in no way would allow its soil to be used for causing instability in any other country or to jeopardise its own national interests.

Echoing "his master's voice", U.S. consul in Peshawar, Richard Smyth told a national daily correspondent, "there is genuine revulsion among the people in the United States against the acts of terrorism (and) Pakistan is supporting activities which are obligated by our laws as contrary to U.S. interests".

The United States, he said, was against the use of funds provided by the international agencies for education, health etc. for the nuclear weapons programmer pray, if that is the reading about Pakistan's utilisation of the foreign economic assistance, what is to be said of India's lavish spending on its nuclear programme and on its high-tech sophisticated weaponry? And, why the U.S. Administration has taken so many years to know that Pakistan was not utilising economic aid for the purposes specified and why it is turning away its eyes from what India has all along been misusing the international donors' funds?

The point to note is that while India is arming itself to teeth, Pakistan cannot remain oblivious to the paramount need of its defence preparedness, and to that end Pakistan cannot be expected to roll back its nuke programme and throw itself at the mercy of Indian warlords and hegemonists. International law, justice and morality demand of the U.S. to shed its partisan stance towards Pakistan and to treat Pakistan and India equitably and without any bias or discrimination. Only then the way would be clear for removing the Pakistan-India irritants in the interest of South Asia peace and security.

War Between U.S., Islamic World Said Inevitable

93AS0795A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 13 Apr 93 p 1

[News Report: "Qazi Hussain Ahmad's Address to the Larkana and Sakhar Bar: 'America and the Islamic World Are Fated To Engage in a Decisive War; The History of the East India Company Is Being Repeated Through the Privatization Policy; Vital Institutions Are Being Handed Over to Foreigners; Jamaat-i-Islami Has Prepared a Program To Transfer the Country's Leadership to the People in the True Meaning of the Word.' His Speech to the Welcoming Gathering at Sakhar and Rohri: 'If People Set Aside Their Prejudices and Unite on a Common Platform, They Can Change the Country's Destiny in 2 Years; The U. S. Also Will Soon Encounter the Same Bitter Experiences Which Russia Is Now Going Through.'"]

[Text] Larkana (JASARAT Correspondent): Senator Qazi Hussain Ahmad, leader of Jamaat-i-Islami [JI], said that through the privatization policy in Pakistan, the history of the East India Company was being repeated; consequently, not only the United States but Israeli investment was coming into Pakistan and would result in the destabilization of the country. He addressed Larkana's District Bar Association on Monday. Bar chairman, Ghulam Sarwar Abbasi and secretary Ershad Kaihar also addressed the gathering which included the leader of JI Sindh; Maulana Mohammad Abbasi and secretary Doctor Mohammad Athar Qureshi. Qazi Hussain Ahmad said in his speech that the government's policy in this respect [privatization?] was so outrageous that the Minister of Industry said on the floor of the parliament that the government would welcome Israeli investment in Pakistan. Qazi Hussain Ahmad said that he entertained no illusions in regard to the opposition because both the opposition and the government were engaged in a race to gain U. S. approval. He said that now that communism had disappeared, the differences between the right and left wings had ended as well and the left wing had entered America's kitchen; those who yesterday burned the U. S. flag at their meetings today silently watched the implementation of American policy; that Pakistan's vital industries were being privatized and those who were buying these industries were foreigners. Qazi Hussain Ahmad said that after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the defeat of communism, the United States wanted to target Muslims under the pretext that they were fundamentalists; that the U. S. policy makers' definition of fundamentalist was any individual who talked of obeying the laws laid down in the Quran whereas that, in fact, was the definition of a Muslim; no Muslim in Pakistan or any other part of the world would ever advocate disobeying the Quran. He emphasized that there was no such concept as fundamentalism in Islam; the fact was that the United States saw a situation like that of Afghanistan occurring in every Islamic country which would inflict defeat on the United States everywhere. He said that it was fated that the United States and the Muslims would engage in war in the future and that to prepare for this war, Islamic movements were nurturing the Islamic spirit; however, before confronting the United States, there would have to be a confrontation with those rulers of Islamic countries who were working for the interests of the United States.

Earlier, Qazi Hussain Ahmad addressed a convention of Prem Union at Larkana railway station and said that JI wanted to rise above linguistic, regional and ethnic differences and fight for the rights of helpless and oppressed people; that JI rejected the reprehensible conspiracies of separatism and wanted to raise the entire nation to the high status of Muslim nationhood. Qazi Hussain Ahmad severely criticized U.S. ambassador John C. Monjo and said that the man was a virtual viceroy of the country; he visited members of the government and leaders of the opposition and created misunderstanding and dissension among them. He said that the poor could not achieve their goals as long as the

middle class leadership and intellectuals were deprived of the right to run the country. He said that today the voice of the workers was not being heard and no one talked of their problems. He stated that he was with Prem [union], with Shama and would fight hand in hand with the workers for their cause.

According to JASARAT's correspondent in Sakhar, JI leader Qazi Hussain Ahmad said that the country's well wishers should rise above party politics and unite to uphold the interests of the country against oppression; that in the coming elections, JI had a program ready under which real leadership would truly pass from large landholders, feudal landlords and bureaucrats into the hands of the people.

Qazi Hussain Ahmad was addressing a welcoming party arranged by the District Bar Association here last night. Also present were JI vice chairman, Maulana Mohammad Abbasi; secretary general Sayed Munawar Hassan; JI Sindh's general secretary Dr. Athar Qureshi and Sindh assembly member Abdul Halim Pirzada. Qazi Hussain Ahmad said that the only way to restore the rights of deprived and backward areas was to help their inhabitants to stand on their own feet; he appealed to the Ulemas [religious scholars] to rise above ideological and sectarian differences, to become a single nation and raise their voices in favor of the restoration of the fundamental rights of the people. He said that after the collapse of the Soviet Union, only two forces were left facing each other, namely, the United States and the Islamic nation [all Muslims regarded as one nation]; it was regrettable that at this time, Pakistan's ruling authorities and their so-called opposition were in the U. S. camp together with Russia but that, God willing, JI would defeat American intentions and its anti-Islam policies. Qazi Hussain Ahmad said that the policy of privatization in Pakistan; encouragement of Jewish investment; the plot to destroy Muslims in Kashmir, Bosnia and Tajikistan and to establish Indian hegemony over South Asia, all these were parts of the U. S. new world order. He said that a decisive war in the future over these same issues between the United States and the Islamic nation was inevitable; it was up to the Pakistani authorities and the members of the opposition to decide as to how they wished to be remembered in history; whether in the future war they wanted to side with Islam or would choose to remain the tools of the United States. He said unequivocally that JI had decided not to take sides in the struggle between the president and the prime minister because both sides were fighting for their own private interests; that JI was not taking part in by-elections because it did not wish to take sides in the war of interests and exigencies between groups.

Earlier, District Bar Association Sakhar's chairman, Sayed Abid Shah, thanked the participants and the Bar Association secretary Maqbool Ahmad Awan addressed the meeting. According to JASARAT's special correspondent in Sakhar, JI leader Qazi Hussain Ahmad declared that the country's destiny could be changed in two years and this would be possible if the nation set

aside its biases and united on a common platform. JI leader was addressing a dinner Sunday night arranged by JI Sakhar in Mohammad Bin Qasim Bagh. Leader of JI Sakhar, Abdul Hafiz Shaikh, also spoke at the gathering; also present were JI Pakistan vice chairman Maulana Mohammad Abbasi; secretary general Sayed Munawar Hassan; Sindh JI secretary general Dr. Mohammad Athar Qureshi and Sakhar Division's leader Mufti Daim Al Din. Qazi Hussain Ahmad said that the world today was divided into two blocks: the U. S. camp and the camp of the Muslim nation; the U. S. camp included the rulers of Islamic nations; these rulers would be defeated and their interests destroyed. Referring to the situation in Pakistan, he said that he had told the friends of Shahbaz Sharif and Nawaz Sharif that the president would not dissolve the assemblies at this time and that they should not raise the issue of the 8th amendment; and that if they did so, their followers would desert them; but they did not believe Hussain Ahmad and said that the people supported them on the issue of the 8th amendment; however, today they were willing to work for salary and were willing to accept Ghulam Ishaq Khan as the future president; but the president no longer trusted them and would not listen to anything they had to say.

PPI [Pakistan Press International] reports that Qazi Hussain Ahmad addressed welcoming meetings arranged by the citizens of Sakhar and Rohri and told them that following the collapse of communism, capitalism as well was nearing its end and that United States, the champion of capitalism, would soon encounter a situation similar to that of Russia; that the United States had taken charge of world politics in the name of the new world order and was interfering in the affairs of other countries; but that conditions were fast changing and in a few years, the United States would undergo the same bitter experiences which were befalling Russia today. He said that there was no such thing as the new world order; what was taking place was world disorder. In regard to the domestic situation, Qazi Hussain Ahmad said that both the authorities in office and the opposition were connected with the U. S. camp and were vying with each other to please the United States. He said that foreign elements had a hand in creating the disagreement between the president and the prime minister and that perhaps the Indian lobby in the United States also had a hand in the matter; that the whole situation was detrimental to the country; it was the duty of those individuals who loved their country and Islam to step forward and defeat the reprehensible plots. Referring to the freedom movement in Kashmir and the oppression of Muslims by Indian troops there, he said that in its barbaric and inhuman cruelties, India had America's blessing and one of the reasons for that situation was the weakness of Pakistani authorities; that following the end of the Afghanistan jihad, Pakistan should have devoted its full attention and strength to occupied Kashmir instead of which the Pakistani government had bowed to U. S. pressure and was jailing Arab mujahedeen whose only crime was that they had participated in a 14 year jihad in Afghanistan for the glory of Islam; after having

accomplished that mission, they were now preparing to join the jihad for freedom in occupied Kashmir. Referring to IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad], he said that after taking over the reins of office, Nawaz Sharif had forgotten all the promises he had made on the IJI platform as a result of which IJI had left IJI and withdrawn its support from the Nawaz Sharif government. Qazi Hussain Ahmad appealed to those who loved Islam to take note of the present situation and step forward to join the struggle to preserve the Islamic identity and defeat the conspiracies of Islam hating elements who had started a world wide war against Islam.

U.S. Terrorist Allegation Seen Hypocritical

93AS0778D Lahore THE NATION in English
12 Apr 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Terrorism in Kashmir"]

[Text] As the West seems reluctant to admit that the uprising in Kashmir is entirely indigenous and has on the contrary a sympathetic ear cocked towards Indian claims that Kashmir is its internal law and order problem, two other parallel dimensions of the issue need attention. One is the move to brand Pakistan a terrorist state for what is alleged to be its role in the spread of militancy in Kashmir and the second is the blockage by India of attempts of world human rights organisations, including Amnesty International, to investigate large-scale violation of human rights by Indian troops in the Valley. The world at large has become numb to the reports of daily killings of Kashmiris, mostly through torture in custody. Arson and burning alive of civilians in their homes, a frequent occurrence, also fails to arouse world conscience. And yet what happened in the heart of Srinagar the other day was no ordinary happening. A pitched battle was fought with Indian troops for five long hours. It resulted in fifty deaths and burning to the ground of large sections of the residential areas. One can see the horrors of what is happening in Bosnia, because the Western media is there to transmit minute-to-minute reports of the sufferings of the civilians. The world has also been able to gather enough evidence of atrocities against civilians to be able to launch war crimes trials against the guilty Serbs. In Kashmir, daily murders in cold-blood and frequent gangrapes of women, convincing proofs of which have been provided to the world by many private groups from India itself, are no crimes. The only conclusion one can draw is that either these crimes are being committed on the instructions of the Government of India or with its active complicity.

To the U.S., notwithstanding its own involvement in Nicaragua and Afghanistan, where the uprisings were against legal governments, Pakistan's support for the uprising in Kashmir, even though the government there is not legal, is terrorism. Therefore, when freedom-fighters, whose struggle would have a U.N. sanction because of the Security Council resolutions, are brutalised, all that the U.S. has to say is that it is a case of human rights violations. Yet human rights violations,

which can only be proved by a visit of the Amnesty International, are not as grave a crime as interference by one state into the affairs of another. Hence India is not a terrorist state. Pakistan is. Was U.S. a terrorist state when it armed the freedom-fighters against their legal governments? Their answer is no. Is Pakistan a terrorist state when it helped the freedom-fighters in a territory on which it has as much claim as its rival? Their answer is: yes. Strange logic, but a logic with which we have to live. In the meantime Kashmiri blood must flow, because India has the blessings of some logical countries.

U.S. Terrorist Allegations Refuted

93AS0795B Lahore MUSAWAT in Urdu 13 Apr 93 p 4

[Article by C. R. Aslam: "America, Pakistan and Terrorists."]

[Text] The United States started a cold war against the Soviet Union in 1948 and to carry on this war, it made developed capitalist countries its allies and newly independent independent countries its satellites.

In order to further its cold war aims, the U. S. formulated a world policy and its satellite countries followed this policy.

Pakistan gained independence in 1947 and, in 1950, it became a U. S. satellite and a supporter of U.S. world policy. In 1954, Pakistan joined 2 U.S. military agreements, CENTO [Central Treaty Organization] and SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization], and signed a military pact with the United States in 1959. When U.S. troops had to withdraw from Vietnam in 1975, the SEATO military pact became unnecessary and CENTO breathed its last in 1980 when a democratic revolution erupted in Iran.

United States included Turkey in the CENTO military pact because it had a common border with the Soviet Union; Iran was included in the pact for the same reason but Afghanistan refused to become a U.S. satellite and continued to change sides [phrase illegible].

There was a democratic [sic] revolution in Afghanistan in 1978 and power came into the hands of the communists. The United States could not accept this situation and drew up a plan to change it.

A year before this revolution, in 1977, the United States brought General Zia into power in Pakistan. The reason why it became necessary for the United States to remove Zulfikar Ali Bhutto from office and replace him with Zia was that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had launched a program to construct an Islamic nuclear bomb. His program clashed with the U.S. world policy and consequently the United States approached Zia and had him impose martial law on Pakistan. A year later, in order to defeat the democratic revolution in Afghanistan, the United States drew up a program of aggression and interference inside Afghanistan and had Zia put the plan into effect.

General Zia gave this aggression and interference the name of Islamic jihad. The United States supplied arms and dollars for the Islamic jihad and the CIA trained the Mujahedeen. Pakistan's fundamentalists took part in this Islamic jihad as well as Islamic countries in Africa and Arab countries in the Middle East; they sent volunteers and dollars to aid the good work.

Islamic jihad continued in Afghanistan. In 1988, General Zia was killed in a plane accident. In 1990, the United States, Canada, Soviet Union and 34 European countries formally ended the cold war.

After the end of the cold war, United States abandoned the world policy which it had adopted 42 years earlier to achieve its cold war aims and which Pakistan had supported.

In the 1992 elections in the United States, George Bush, who was president during the cold war era, was defeated and Bill Clinton was elected. He has been president since 1993.

In line with his newly formulated world policy, the U.S. president started to put pressure on the government of Pakistan to abandon its support of fundamentalists and sign the nuclear nonproliferation treaty; to declare that it would not build any nuclear bombs; to destroy any such bombs it might possess and open its nuclear laboratories to international inspection.

The United States warned Pakistan to withdraw support from terrorists and gave notice that if by the end of April, the government had not got rid of terrorist bases, Pakistan would be designated a terrorist country.

Pakistan replied that it was not building a nuclear bomb nor was it training terrorists, supplying them with weapons or employing terrorists to interfere in the affairs of other countries. A Pakistani minister was sent to the United States to reassure the government but the United States was not convinced. It said unequivocally that if Pakistan did not sign the NNP and failed to deport terrorists, Pakistan would be designated a terrorist state.

Consequently, the government launched the Peshawar operation in that city and arrested Arab terrorists. Mujahedeen from Arab countries and Islamic countries in Africa were found to be living in Peshawar; 3000 individuals were apparently working in non-government organizations of those countries. They said that their governments had sent them to take part in the Islamic jihad in Afghanistan; that they were ready to serve Islam in any place where Islamic jihad was in progress; that they were not terrorists but Muslim mujahedeen prepared for Islamic jihad.

This is an issue which concerns the United States, the government of Pakistan and fundamentalists. When the cold war was in progress, the United States patronized fundamentalists through its satellite countries. Now that the cold war has ended, the United States has abandoned

its patronage of fundamentalists and is asking its satellites to do the same and to get rid of terrorists, otherwise these countries would be designated as being terrorists themselves. It is interesting to note that when the United States created satellite states, it patronized the fundamentalists there; now it is pressuring them to put an end to terrorism. Pakistan should have changed its policies in 1990; now the United States is forcing it to do so because the United States no longer has any need for fundamentalists whom it used to spread terrorism in socialist, nonaligned and neutral countries. These terrorist groups are now carrying out terrorist acts in the United States, the Islamic countries of Africa and Arab countries in the Middle East. They want to use terrorism to establish fundamentalist regimes in Islamic countries in the Third World. That is the reason why the United States wants to get rid of them and is putting pressure on its satellite countries to do so.

U.S. Attacked Over Terrorism Warning

93AS0855C Islamabad HURMAT in Urdu 15 Apr 93 p 5

[Editorial: "What Makes Pakistan a Terrorist Country Now?"]

[Text] The part Pakistan played in the recent past, in cooperation with the United States and certain Western countries, in ending Soviet aggression in Afghanistan is no secret. Pakistan not only gave asylum to hundreds of thousands of Afghan refugees, prepared public opinion to oppose Soviet aggression in Afghanistan, but reportedly armed the Afghan Mujahedeen as well. Nevertheless, Pakistan was not accused of terrorism but, on the contrary, Pakistan's role in helping the Afghan Mujahedeen and ending Soviet aggression elicited high praise from Western countries and the international community of nations.

However, now that Pakistan is offering only moral and diplomatic help to the Kashmiris, it is being accused of terrorism so much so that the United States has placed Pakistan on its "watch list." Pakistan has said unequivocally that it was not supplying arms to the Kashmiris but that it would not retreat from its stand in favor of the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir. The UN has supported this stand in its resolutions and has said that the Kashmiris should be allowed to decide their own future through a referendum. In view of these facts, no doubts should be entertained about Pakistan's diplomatic and moral support for the Kashmiris. Not only Pakistan, but many other countries are supporting the Kashmiris and several world organizations have passed resolutions on the issue.

As regards the concern expressed regarding the arms and training being given the Kashmiris, Pakistan has openly invited all human rights organizations and all countries to send representatives of their media of communication to any part of Pakistan they choose in order to see for themselves whether the accusation is true. Moreover, Pakistan has even suggested that the

Kashmir control line be monitored and completely sealed by the United States or the UN so as to remove any doubts regarding Pakistan's actions. However, in spite of all these proposals, U.S. accusations of terrorism continue to intensify.

We think that the United States has started this campaign of arm twisting in order to freeze Pakistan's nuclear program. The United States is using various excuses to increase its pressure on Pakistan and its real objective is to force Pakistan to roll back its nuclear program and accept the hegemony of India over the region. The question is, what steps is the government of Pakistan taking to counter U.S.'s torture tactics. How can a country which for a long time has had no minister of foreign affairs and whose foreign affairs have been entrusted to a comparatively inexperienced individual, withstand foreign pressure in certain affairs? One can judge for oneself.

In order to cope with the problems, hardships and pressures in foreign affairs which Pakistan is now facing, it is necessary to appoint a permanent minister of foreign affairs. Decisions should be made after consultations among policy makers. There is no doubt that the special interests of certain countries are exerting pressure on Pakistan; but we should remember also that the pressures result from certain shortcomings in our own foreign policy which we should remedy as soon as possible.

U.S. Said 'Blackmailing' Nation, Consequences Seen Dire

93AS0793I Karachi DAWN in English 18 Apr 93 p 15

[Article by Ghani Eirabie: "Blackmailing Can Backfire"]

[Text] The nation would be well advised to take a short break from its political preoccupations and prepare itself mentally to be declared a terrorist state and brace itself physically for all the consequences that flow from it. It is the sort of challenge a nation faces once in a century when it is called upon to choose between material comfort and spiritual heritage. Under the threat of dire consequences, we are being asked to betray the Kashmiris, give up the nuclear option and revise our commitment to Islam.

In a re-enactment of the lion-and-lamb 'morality play' the U.S. seems in such a hurry to find us guilty that Ambassador Monjo has dismissed as "unnecessary" and "expensive" the idea of posting international observers on the Kashmir control line to find the facts. It is deemed unnecessary presumably because Washington already has accepted India's allegations as gospel truth; and one wonders why the U.S. has not thought of saving on expenses by assigning the fact-finding mission to Israeli volunteers already deployed in Kashmir to advise Indian security forces on more effective techniques of ethnic-cleansing!

These techniques apparently enjoy the connivance if not the approval of the sole superpower, considering that neither burning down whole villages as in Sopore nor

firing into funeral processions as of Mir Waiz Mohammad Farooq, nor torturing militants to death in police custody nor even disconnecting critically-ill patients from life-support system in hospitals, has provoked the sort of righteous indignation that marked the American reaction to the Chinese opening fire on Tiananmen Square demonstrators or the Soviets cracking down on Afghan guerillas.

U.S. exercises the superpower's prerogative of devising definitions that suit its realpolitik ends. It views Afghan guerillas as freedom fighters but denounce Kashmir freedom fighters as terrorists. It treats Kashmir as Indian territory in defiance of the U.N. verdict holding it "disputed", but treated East Pakistan in 1971 and Sri Lanka in 1987 as though they were "no-man's land" the Indians could invade at will in support of India-armed dissidents, without being decried as "terrorist".

Any expectation of impartiality and fairplay is demolished by the United States helping India and Israel build substantial nuclear arsenals while penalising Pakistan for even acquiring nuclear capability. Finally, irrefutable evidence showing U.S. attitude increasingly coloured by its "Crusading" suspicion of the Muslim world—illustrated by the contrast in its treatment of the Iraqis and the Bosnian Serbs—extinguishes all hope of Pakistan receiving a fair deal. The United States seems all set to undermine our national will and moral value-system before discarding us as a used reed.

The punishments imposed on countries declared terrorist are pretty drastic: all military and economic assistance including the one in the pipeline is stopped forthwith under a variety of laws including section 6(J) of the Export Administration Act of 1989/91. World Bank loans and IMF facilities dry up. Special licences are required to ship dual-purpose goods and technologies and a ban imposed on military training facilities, export of munition and agriculture trade and import-export bank amenities. The withdrawal from U.S. banks and corporations of foreign tax credit on income earned in a black-listed country results in the shrivelling up of all American investments. There is little doubt that declaration of Pakistan as a terrorist state would place Pak-American relations in "deep freeze"; and the worst of it is that by signalling Pakistan's isolation, it might send the wrong message to Pakistan's vengeful neighbours.

The situation, however, is not as dismal as it looks. For one thing, the economic and military aid to Pakistan has already been under suspension for two years under the Pressler Amendment and the country has managed to survive. For another, Pakistan's security would not be enhanced by surrendering the nuclear option. Nor would Pakistan be able to live with itself if it betrayed the Kashmiris and stopped raising its voice against India's genocide of the indigenous population. And finally, a state that has come into being on the basis of ideology

cannot abandon its Islamic identity just to allay the misgivings of those still swayed by memories of the Crusades. Nations do not give up their *raison d'être* to placate their ideological foes.

If Iran, Syria, Libya, Iraq, Cuba and North Korea have survived the American boycott, so can Pakistan. True, Iran, Iraq and Libya have oil, but Syria, Cuba and North Korea do not have any and yet they have not perished. Pakistan has two assets that not many other countries can boast. It has excellent farmland served by the world's most elaborate irrigation system; and it has a large pool of trained and talented manpower. If we manage to pull ourselves together, we cannot only survive but even forge ahead. Of course, we would need to make an extra effort to put our house in order, rebuild our frayed moral fibre and develop a measure of dedication to our homeland, putting the nation before self. Our people would be prepared to make any sacrifice when they discover they run the risk of being enslaved by Hindu Rashtra determined to demolish all "Babri mosques" in the subcontinent as expressions of a culture it detests as alien and "destroyable".

In the worst case scenario: deprived of an opportunity to develop ourselves economically and educate ourselves adequately, our people could fall prey to some sort of revolutionary fervour; desperate people tend to look for desperate remedies. Their first choice might be a "rightist" revolution like the one in Germany where the humiliation of the Treaty of Versailles destroyed democracy and fuelled a supernationalist Fascist Nazi movement; or like the one in Iran where the imposition of Western politico-cultural domination through the Shah created a backlash that overthrew the Shah.

Contrary to the popular Western perception that Pakistan is an anchor of Islamic fundamentalism, our people (presumably under Sufi influence) are pretty relaxed about their religion and averse to priesthood intruding into politics. This is shown by the fact that the religious factions that constituted the second largest party in the 1970 parliament of Pakistan have been reduced to a dozen seats (out of 217) in today's National Assembly—in sharp contrast to India where the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] has increased its strength in seven years from two to 119.

However, the situation in Pakistan could change drastically if the people perceived the U.S. trying to hustle Pakistan, into betraying Kashmir, surrendering the nuclear option or downgrading Islam. The popular anger could result in the takeover of Pakistan by an ultra-conservative regime or an ecclesiastical order dominated by religious divines as in Iran. Domestically such a regime would impose a strait-jacket religious discipline on the people; and in its foreign policy, it would seek to support Islamist revolutions in the Central Asian republics and make common cause with other Muslim countries worldwide.

In the event of Pakistan being politically isolated and militarily threatened by India, Islamabad conceivably might decide to seal a mutual defence pact with Iran under which the latter will be underwriting supply of oil over the next decade or two and Pakistan sharing nuclear secrets with it.

At present Pakistan is holding firm to its solemn commitment not to transfer its nuclear knowhow to any country, but the entire ballgame would change in case Pakistan is driven to the wall by the U.S. declaring Pakistan a terrorist state and isolating it economically and politically. Further such an ultra-conservative or ultra-nationalist government would not resile from a war provoked by India's BJP, no matter what the consequences, and the outcome could be devastation of the entire subcontinent—a situation the U.S. could not view with equanimity.

The other scenario, even without an Indo-Pakistan war, should be no less worrisome to the Americans. The ground for a "leftist" revolution could be paved by four major factors. One, collapse of free market economy as a consequence of withdrawal of Western aid and trade resulting in massive unemployment and inflation; two, banning of the normal tools of development, including interest-based modern banking, under a theocratic regime; three, explosion of population as a result of elimination of family-planning; and four, erosion of financial discipline and incurring of additional expenditure on further buildup of defence forces and internal security structure. Cumulatively, these factors would result in increased impoverishment of the country and the sinking of the great mass of common people below the poverty-line—and only a spark would be required (say provided by a military reverse) to trigger the sort of revolution that rocked Russia in 1917.

Communism as embodied in the Soviet experiment might be dead, but as a harbinger of hope for the angry, starving people of the world it is not dead. It would live as long as the problem does. The day is not far off when the slum-dwellers of South Asia would explode into revolt against the existing social order and produce a South Asian version of communism, just as Russia and China produced theirs. It would herald a war not between the elites of India and Pakistan but between the "haves" and the "have-nots" of the subcontinent. Normally such a class-war explosion should be beginning from the slums of Calcutta and Bombay because of their more degrading poverty, but in the event of economic deprivation being imposed on Pakistan, the slums of Pakistan could blow up first, causing a chain reaction in Bombay and Calcutta.

With the benefit of expert advice of hundreds of think-tanks, the United States cannot be unaware of the threat posed to the peace and stability in the region by the two possible scenarios resulting from any ill-advised U.S. decision to declare Pakistan a terrorist state. American policymakers must be aware downdeep that in all honesty Pakistan cannot be dubbed a "terrorist state"; but

apparently they lack the imagination to realise that blackmailing Pakistan to oblige India and Israel could by itself turn Pakistan into one. The great mass of Pakistanis are not convinced that they are indulging in any act of terrorism by acquiring nuclear capability to counterbalance India's nuclear arsenal, or by providing moral support to victims of Indian genocide in Kashmir or by pursuing a moderate, middle-road version of Islam. Brought up against the wall, "even a worm turns" they say—and Pakistanis are no worms, especially when aroused. Their concept of martyrdom is frightening.

U.S. Called World's Biggest Exporter of Terrorism

93AS0794C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
19 Apr 93 p 8

[Article by Bashir Ahmad Bhatti: "Who Is the Biggest Terrorist?"]

[Text] Just as in the ocean, big fishes swallow small fishes without mercy and no one challenges them, on land the United States is doing as it pleases; no one questions it or tries to stop it. It can call anyone a terrorist or reward anyone with a certificate of good conduct. Why does the United States want to brand Muslims as terrorists when, as a matter of fact, it is supporting world terrorists, offering them protection and increasing its aid to them? What is it that the United States sees in Muslims? It is the right of every country to obtain peaceful nuclear technology in order to bring prosperity to its people. Ever since Pakistan started its peaceful nuclear program, it has had to face hardships of one kind or another. The objectives of Pakistan's peaceful atomic program are to generate electricity, to end salinity and erosion in farming and to achieve important industrial goals. We are not interested in building nuclear weapons. Pakistan is even ready to sign the nuclear nonproliferation treaty under certain conditions whereas India refuses outright to sign the agreement. India exploded an atomic device in 1974 but aid to that country was not suspended nor were economic sanctions imposed against it.

Since 1990, United States has suspended aid to Pakistan under the Pressler amendment.

Serbian terrorists openly dragged European Muslims out of their houses and slaughtered men, women and children as though they were sheep. They gang-raped women and openly killed children. In occupied Kashmir, the barbarism of Indian troops created new legends of cruelty; Indian troops exceeded the limits of inhumanity; India scaled the heights of barbarism; it murdered hundreds of thousands of Kashmiris and burned thousands alive in their homes. Women were raped mercilessly. Israel occupies Arab lands; Palestinians are deported from their country. What United States and its allies did in Iraq was nothing short of hooliganism. Those who are themselves terrorists regard Muslim countries such as Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Libya, Syria as terrorist countries. The terrorist lobby aims to weaken Muslims and enslave

them. Why is India not being forced to sign the NNP agreement? Pakistan is being held responsible for terrorist acts in every part of the world whereas Pakistan has openly and vehemently denounced terrorism in any part of the world. Pakistan is inviting human rights organizations and journalists to visit Pakistan and carry out investigation in any manner they please so that they might see for themselves that Pakistan is not helping terrorists. Why then are India and the United States threatening to designate Pakistan a terrorist country? Those who are accusing Pakistan of terrorism are themselves among the major terrorists. The United States, India and Israel should take note of what is happening in their own countries. The world has seen the bomb explosions in the United States and the racial fighting between blacks and whites in Los Angeles. Those who throw accusations at small and poor countries should first pay attention to their own domestic problems.

U.S. Called Chief Supporter of Terrorism

93AS0855A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
28 Apr 93 p 4

[Article by Professor Mohammad Baqir Khan Khakwani: "Terrorism and the U.S. Role."]

[Text] Israel is openly sending arms to the cruel soldiers of Serbia in open contravention of UN resolutions but the U.S. will never declare Israel a terrorist country. The U.S. will never declare Britain a terrorist country even though Britain maintains its rule over Ireland against the wishes of the people there and is resorting to every means to crush the Irish freedom movement. U.S., the flag bearer of humanitarianism, congratulates Britain on its oppression and cruelty.

The U.S. will never designate terrorist a country like Burma which uses violence within its own borders and which, in the last few years, has martyred a hundred thousand Muslims in the province of Arkan and has driven out of the country countless Muslims who were citizens of Burma and had lived in that country for many years. The Muslims in Burma continue to suffer cruelties which one cannot bear even to write about. But such countries are not called terrorists.

The U.S. does not regard countries such as Serbia terrorist which has killed more than a hundred thousand Bosnian Muslims; carried out the rape of more than 50,000 Muslim women and made them pregnant; these women were gang raped by ten and twenty men at one time. Serbian soldiers continue to destroy mosques, libraries and all historical monuments and relics in Bosnia. The strong condemnation of other countries does not move Serbia nor is it willing to act on U.N. resolutions; and its cruel treatment of Bosnian Muslims becomes worse each day. Serbian troops shoot and kill everyone, whether an 18 month old infant or a 100 year old man. The cruel treatment of women has reached such

extreme limits that Europe's non-Muslim women's organizations are crying out in protest; but nothing moves the Serbians. The U.S. does not regard Serbia as a terrorist country.

In short, the U.S. which is at present the world's single great power, follows no standard for designating a country as terrorist but does so at its own whim. It calls any country it pleases a terrorist and thus deserving of punishment. For example, the U.S. has recently designated Sudan a terrorist country even though Sudan is the most peace loving country in Africa. Thus, a country like Sudan which has not killed even a fly in the international arena and maintains peace within its borders is a terrorist country; Iran and Iraq are also called terrorists. The U.S. is now preparing to designate Intifada, the representative movement of the Palestinian people, as terrorist; similarly, it is deliberating whether to declare our dear country, God's gift Pakistan which has since 1947 always championed peace in the world, a terrorist country. In view of this situation and the international climate, I request those in charge of the ministry of foreign affairs not to bow before the U.S.; to let that country do what it intends to do and convince it that by being designated a terrorist country by the U.S., Pakistan does not lose its good name nor does it gain greater respect if the U.S. refrains from calling it terrorist. Our government should stop looking to the U.S. and turn its attention to building the country's strength. God has bestowed innumerable blessings on Pakistan and the people of this country have many fine qualities. Instead of using its energy to please the U.S., the government should educate the people, create Islamic pride in them and increase political stability within the country. The party in office and the opposition should march forward in step and the opposition party should cease opposing the government for opposition's sake. Politicians should be trained to place their personal interests ahead of national interests [sic; national interests ahead of personal interests] and draw up plans to utilize national resources fully. Instead of shouting meaningless slogans, they should undertake practical measures. If we do all these things, U.S. threats will not affect us in the least.

We should remember that we are the descendants of the people who came to India by the thousands, ruled over millions of people and today there are 500 millions of us on the subcontinent. If a spirit of pride and dignity is aroused within these Muslims, the day will not be far when Pakistan will become one of the leading powers of the world; but instead of encouraging oppression and cruelty as the U.S. is doing, Pakistan will make the world the cradle of peace and security. God alone is Omniscient.

Implications of U.S. Terrorist Allegations Examined

93AS0795C Karachi JANG in Urdu 19 Apr 93 p 3

[Article by Shahid Rashidi: "America's Allegation of Terrorism and Our Responsibility."]

[Text] Pakistan is facing unusual and sensitive issues such as the fact that the United States is seriously considering designating Pakistan a terrorist state and has adopted a less friendly attitude toward Pakistan. This is not the first time that Pakistan has had to face false accusations but this time the allegations have become more intense and reached a culminating point. Defending Pakistan against these charges, Akram Zaki, secretary general of Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has tried to alleviate U.S. fears but his efforts do not appear to have had any positive results. Nevertheless, Akram Zaki defended the Pakistan government's stand, pointed out the fact that the government of Pakistan had no choice in the nuclear program and assured the United States that Pakistan was opposed to aggression and hoped for peace on a permanent basis. Akram Zaki suggested that world public opinion should take courageous action in regard to Kashmir.

This is not the first time that Pakistan has had to face accusations, this time of complicity in terrorism; in the past also various kinds of allegations were made against Pakistan. Only recently, a U.S. State Department spokesman denied that the United States was accusing Pakistan of terrorism; the spokesman said that rumours about designating Pakistan a terrorist state were without foundation; that this could have been the expression of a personal opinion but that the U.S. government and people wanted friendship and good relations with Pakistan.

Even if one believed that the accusation of terrorism against Pakistan was merely the expression of a personal opinion, the question arises as to whom the U.S. ambassador in Pakistan, John Monjo, is representing. In what light are we to regard his poisonous and false accusations against Pakistan during an informal talk with press editors and journalists on 31 March in Islamabad? The fact is that such statements about Pakistan are the first intimations of future dangers. First, it is reported that Pakistan's unusual attention to its nuclear program was rousing U.S. concern; this gives United States the opportunity to shower favors on India. Even before the ink on this report is dry, the U.S. State Department issues an explanation or denial of the report. While this denial is under discussion, another serious accusation is levelled against Pakistan. What should one call such behaviour?

In my view, the United States is using these tactics to keep us under psychological pressure; while we are involved in straightening out these problems, someone burglarizes our home. The government of Pakistan says that it is prepared to prove that the U.S. charge is false. The question is, what is there to refute? One could prove the charge to be false if, in the first place, there was the slightest evidence of Pakistan's complicity in even the most minor incident of terrorism. If the U.S. ambassador in Pakistan possesses no evidence against Pakistan and is engaging in false propaganda against the country, how should one regard such actions?

At any rate, this is a delicate matter and concerns the safety of the country; hence one should be careful about expressing any views.

The intentions of the new U.S. administration regarding Pakistan can be gauged from the U.S. ambassador's statements to press editors and journalists in Islamabad on 31 March in which he explained [United States] policy. His attitude in particular produced the unusual headline on 1 April in Karachi's English newspaper: "U.S. Act on 'Terrorism any Time,' Says Envoy" [sic].

At any rate, let us look at these excerpts from ambassador Monjo's policy statements so that we may be able to formulate policies and undertake concrete measures:

[Monjo's statement] that the U.S. decision in regard to ending Pakistan's terrorism (reference to support for Kashmir's struggle for freedom) could be made in two days or several months but not in two years. [sic]

When journalists raised the question of Indian cruelties in Kashmir, Monjo made this reply:

If India used tanks against Kashmiri Muslims in order to crush Kashmir's freedom struggle, then such an action would not be terrorism but merely the contravention of human rights. In the ambassador's view, what does constitute terrorism?

How much weight does the U.S. ambassador's support for the Indian army's barbaric and inhuman cruelties carry, one need not explain. It is sufficient to say that even if India should drink the blood of Muslims from their skulls, it would not constitute terrorism; it would not even be considered an unusual act. In other words, even if India indulges in terrorism, contravenes human rights, tears up the peace charter of the U. N. and scatters it to the four winds, even then such actions would not be considered unusual.

Thus, when local journalists denied the accusation of terrorism against Pakistan and questioned the U.S. ambassador, he said that the government of Pakistan maintained that it was giving only moral, political and democratic support to the Muslims of Kashmir, but that the United States was receiving reports which conflicted with those statements and revealed the true state of affairs.

Pakistan has been supporting the freedom movement of the Kashmiri Muslims in various forums; hence, the U. S. ambassador is warning us in threatening tones and trying to stop us, thus proving that he is applying a double standard.

Mr. Monjo then adopted this tone: that (the United States) was looking to Islamabad to see what they said and what they did.

The U.S. ambassador's recent statement in fact boils down to this: that Pakistan should stop offering moral help to the Muslims of occupied Kashmir; that Pakistan was helping the Kashmiri Muslims in every way; thus, as

punishment for interfering in the internal affairs of India, the United States was justified in accusing Pakistan of terrorism. It would be very dangerous to accept the U.S. ambassador's statement as representing U.S. policy, for then the possibility of further deterioration in Pak-U.S. relations would increase.

It now remains to be seen as to what policy Pakistan adopts and what steps it takes in foreign and U. N. forums to defend itself against the U. S. accusation. I think that the time has come for Pakistan's representative in the United States [sic], Jamshid Marker and Pakistan's ambassador Abida Hussain to show their mettle. If, together with Akram Zaki, Jamshid Marker and Abida Hussain should succeed, through the Western media, in restoring Pakistan's prestige on the international level, they would have demonstrated their capabilities. If this is not done, Pak-U.S. relations will reach a serious juncture and the struggle for freedom in Kashmir will slow down. In 1984, before the signing of the Geneva agreement, the late Mohammad Khan Junejo, prime minister at the time, took the people into his confidence and called a round table meeting of opposition parties and prominent politicians and consulted with them in regard to matters touching the security of the country; this adopting of a policy by common consent created a sense of the existence of democracy in the country. In view of the U.S. ambassador's statement, it is necessary now to continue the practice established by Junejo. Begum Nusrat Bhutto expressed concern that the United States might designate Pakistan a terrorist country. She criticized Pakistan's foreign policy in severe terms and called it a defeat for the government. Jamaat-I-Islami, with certain mental reservations, is also giving various kinds of advice to the government. My view is that after the U.S. accusation surfaces, it is necessary for the government to give thought to all the possibilities; to forget internal differences and pay total attention to important security considerations; to take the people into its confidence; call an emergency meeting of the leaders of all parties, and, in the democratic tradition, adopt a policy agreed upon by all in line with the wider interests of the country. If the government takes effective measures under a positive policy, there is no reason why the problem should not be solved.

JI Leader Slates U.S. 'Crash Muslims' Policy

93AS0777B Karachi DAWN in English 14 Apr 93 p 7

[Article: "Qazi Slates America's Anti-Muslim Policy"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Hyderabad, April 13: The chief of Jamaat-i-Islami, Senator Qazi Hussein Ahmed, has condemned the United States of America for its double standard policies to crush the Muslims throughout the world.

Addressing the members of the District Bar Association here on Tuesday, he said India had exploded a nuclear device in 1974, and during the Gulf War the American

Secretary of States had threatened Iraq with nuclear attack by Israel, but they were not declared terrorist states. On the other hand, Qazi said, Pakistan was struggling with its peaceful nuclear programme but it was placed on the watch list of terrorist states.

He further pointed out that India had also point-blank refused to sign the non-proliferation treaty [NPT] to declare South Asia nuclear free zone, yet it was not on the list of terrorists states.

He deplored that the Indian atrocities in occupied Jammu and Kashmir were known to whole world, so much so, that neither journalists nor human right organisations were allowed to visit the area, yet no action had been taken against it.

Ridiculing the term "fundamentalism"—Qazi said that a Western scholar had told him that the word fundamentalism had been coined for those who believed in the text of Koran.

Referring to the present political situation in the country, he said that while the Prime Minister was now prepared to bridge the gulf, the President had allegedly developed a lot of mistrust. He said the politics of "conspiracies and vested interests" was fully operational in Islamabad.

He paid tributes to the lawyers community for upholding the freedom of expression and providing a forum to the political leaders to speak their mind.

JI Leader Sees U.S. Responsible for Power Rift in Nation

93AS0777D Karachi DAWN in English 16 Apr 93 p 18

[Article: "Qazi Accuses U.S. of Creating Power Rift"; boldface words as published]

[Text] Lahore, April 5: Rift between the President and the Prime Minister is the handiwork of the forces which do not want stability in Pakistan, and the United States is at the forefront of these forces, Qazi Hussein Ahmed alleged on Monday.

Speaking at a meeting of the Jamaat-i-Islami's [JI] Central Shoora, he said the United States wanted an atmosphere of confusion and confrontation in Pakistan so that no government could pay proper attention on preparing its policies.

He recalled that a rift was created between Mr Junejo and President Zia, and then between the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and President Ishaq. The same situation prevails now, and the U.S. ambassadors in Pakistan have been playing a pivotal role in this regard.

Qazi Hussein Ahmed said the situation needed a reconciliation between the President and the Prime Minister as the country could not afford a crisis at this juncture.

The Jamaat, Qazi Hussein Ahmed said, wanted a balance in the powers of the President and the Prime Minister and any amendment introduced for the purpose should guarantee protection of the Islamic provisions and supremacy of the Koran and Sunnah, as promised by the Prime Minister on the floor of the House.

He said the U.S. Ambassador was threatening Pakistan of declaring it a terrorist state. Pressure was also mounting on Pakistan on the question of Kashmir. Pakistan's ambassador Abida Hussain had accused the Jamaat-i-Islami of assisting the Kashmiri Mujahedeen while a Pakistani delegation was going to the United States to assure that all doors for help to the Kashmiri freedom fighters had been closed.

Qazi Hussein was of the opinion that had a stable government been in power here no country would have dared cast a malignant eye on Pakistan.

The JI chief criticised the privatisation policy of the Government and said objections were being raised against sale of 22 billion worth of assets for only Rs [Rupees] 4 billion. National integrity was being endangered with the privatisation of sensitive institutions like WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority], postal and telephone departments. He said privatisation seemed to be a part of the New World Order of the U.S.

New Secretary General: Meanwhile, Qazi Hussein Ahmed, in consultation with the Shoora, has appointed Syed Munawwar Hasan as the new Secretary General of the party.

He replaces Chaudhry Aslam Saleemi who has been made deputy chief. The existing five deputy chiefs will continue to function on their posts as usual, a Jamaat announcement said.

Jamaat-i-Islami Said Targeted by the U. S.

93AS0858A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu
19 Apr 93 pp 17-19

[Article by Mahnawaz Farooqi: "Jamaat-i-Islami: America's International Target; A review of JI's International role."]

[Text] The conspiracies of the United States and its satellites against Jamaat-i-Islami [JI] can be countered only through a strong popular base for JI. Movements with only a limited popular base, no matter how ideologically strong [sentence incomplete]; after governments take action against movements with a strong popular base, the effectiveness of these movements among the people increases dramatically and these movements become symbolic. We should, therefore, widen our popular base in order to be able to fulfill our historical role in bringing about a world wide change.

The importance of a dream surfaces only after it is realized; when merely a dream, people of narrow vision laugh at it and those who call themselves men of vision

smile forgivingly. These people do not understand that dreams are in fact harbingers of things to come; they are whispers of the future heard only by those who can disregard the din surrounding them.

A half century ago, when the late Maulana Maududi started Tahrik-i-Islami [Islamic movement] on the sub-continent, many objectives seemed to be no more than dreams and aroused laughter and smiles. But neither those who laughed nor those who smiled endured; what did endure was the dream which gradually turned to reality. Maulana's thought and the sincerity behind it bridged the gap between dream and reality so that the realization of the dream no longer appears impossible but merely difficult. It now remains to be seen who will bridge the remaining gap; but seeing alone is not sufficient. The experience has to be lived and those who do so will be the sincere ones.

One can gauge the importance of individuals and organizations not just by their followers but by their opponents as well and sometimes by the opponents alone. A rising opposition indicates rising importance. Things which defy description [sic] may gain supporters but not opponents. Since its inception, Tahrik-i-Islami has been the object of opposition but the kind of opposition it encountered at that time is different from the opposition today. The earlier opposition was local and today it is, if not totally international, then at least largely so. On the local level, [Tahrik-i-Islami] posed a danger to various groups and sects; today it poses a danger to international forces.

As long as national and international forces which obstruct change remained ignorant of Tahrik-i-Islami's decisive role, they kept silent; but now that they realize that Tahrik-i-Islami is beginning to play a decisive role in social and ideological changes, opposition to the movement has started at every level. This opposition is sometimes aimed at Tahrik itself and at other times at its leader Qazi Hussain Ahmad.

We all know what happened during Qazi Hussain Ahmad's reelection to leadership and there is no need to recount the incident. We should, however, keep the incident in mind because history will be repeated, if not today, then tomorrow or the day after; if not against Qazi Hussain Ahmad, then against someone else. A thief moves stealthily, not in a roundabout way [sic]. After that storm, a campaign was waged against Qazi Hussain Ahmad based on the statements of Professor Sabqatullah Mojadedi and Professor Burhan Al Din Rabbani; but Hussain Ahmad's large-heartedness shamed these forces again. Only recently, a statement by the president of Tajikistan was published accusing Jamaat-i-Islami of interfering in the affairs of Tajikistan. The writer heard the report on BBC television as well as JI's denial of the accusation. A few days ago, U. S. employees accused JI of training mujahadeen from occupied Kashmir and a few weeks ago, our newspapers published a report to the effect that the U.S. government had designated Hamas a terrorist organization and was preparing to take action

against it. Consequently, some people are of the view that an international conspiracy has started against JI and that it would be carried out in the near future.

The fact is that in all those areas of the world where Muslims are in dire straits and fighting for their survival, JI is helping in every way possible. The fronts in Bosnia, Kashmir, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Tajikistan and other places where there is fighting on the front, the presence of JI can be felt. This is a major international role which only those who believe in Muslims as a nation and hope to point the world in a particular direction can play. Many people consider this role an honor; I regard it as a Divine gift which is a thousand times higher than honor.

JI's role has aroused various kinds of reactions; many people think that JI has prematurely got involved in too many fronts at the same time. To refute this argument, it is sufficient to point out that it is a thousand times better to act prematurely than too late. Those who raise these objections fail to take into account the important fact that the present international situation was not created by JI but appeared unexpectedly and so suddenly that Mr. Shevrednazi, the Soviet Union's former foreign minister, said that the collapse of the Soviet Union was a phenomenon which he could not have anticipated only 2 months earlier. The Bosnia issue is also an unexpected one; the front in Tajikistan opened unexpectedly. It is obvious that it was impossible to judge what the "right" time was; moreover, if JI had not played its part, who else would have done so?

One of the prerequisites for the success of the various movements at work in different countries of the world is the need for a center, a permanent source of inspiration which would provide guidance in general affairs. Such a center cannot be created with money or power but only by acting on the hadith [the prophet's dictum] that all Muslims are parts of a single body; if one part hurts, the others are affected as well; that Muslims are like bricks in a wall who support and provide strength for each other. No other role can bring about a change of heart in a cruel and unfeeling world. Just think how moved the people of Bosnia must be when they see an Afghan, a Pakistani, an Egyptian or a Sudanese travel hundreds of miles to join them in their struggle and risk his life solely because of a shared belief. I think that these are the feelings which affect a person's innermost being and change him. We are fortunate that Pakistan's Tahrik-I-Islami has been entrusted with this role of becoming the center of inspiration for many world movements.

Such a center is necessary for the expression of harmonious and united reactions. Maybe not today, but certainly in the future an incident will evoke a common reaction from Karachi to Khartoum, and from Lahore to Bosnia.

People do not realize that the success and strengthening of a movement, even if it is fifty thousand miles away, strengthens us or at least helps us in some degree. It also happens that sometimes evidence from a distant place

affects people more and carries more weight than events taking place before their eyes. When one hears from Afghanistan that if the Muslim world had five or ten individuals of the calibre of Qazi Hussain Ahmad, all inter-Muslim issues would be solved, then society is impressed. Similar evidence coming from several other directions will prove equally effective.

There was a great effort made to portray Qazi Hussain Ahmad as a controversial figure in Pakistan. Some barked; others bit and everyone tried his best. But the only result was to give Qazi Hussain Ahmad's personality greater prominence and to enhance respect for him. Qazi Hussain Ahmad's righteous actions proved that he would not disappoint those who hoped much from him. It is necessary to talk about Qazi Hussain Ahmad because he is the center of the source of inspiration we have mentioned earlier.

In order to bring about major social changes, the importance of personality as well as organization is accepted as a principle. To judge whether an individual makes or does not make a difference one should look at Shah Faisal and Khomeini on a social level. Even though separated by distance, they influenced the thoughts and actions of millions of Muslims and their memory is fresh in the minds of many. It is an extraordinary phenomenon when a large number of people are in agreement in their opinion of an individual. A person achieves such a status when there is something striking about his personality. Some attach a great deal of importance to a capacity for thought; but I think that Shah Faisal was not a great thinker; and anyway, it is not necessary to be a great thinker in order to point out obvious truths. What is in fact needed is great courage and sincerity which Shah Faisal possessed. He was thus able to influence people. The qualities needed to move people in a certain direction are rare in any age. As for the rest of the work, that can be accomplished through organization. Alama [religious scholar] Khomeini was of course an exception. It is encouraging to see people turn with hope towards Qazi Hussain Ahmad. He has gained a prominent place in the international brotherhood of Muslims and this fact will prove to be a great advantage for Tahrir-i-Islami, for Pakistan and for other movements in the world.

Let us examine the question whether the United States, which has designated Hamas a terrorist organization and is deliberating what steps to take against it, will take similar actions against Jamaat-i-Islami as well. The United States has already started to mould public opinion in its favor as it usually does whenever it wants to take action against anyone; the United States creates the right atmosphere for its action by waging an international campaign against its target.

One should remember a few things in this connection. First, that it is no longer possible to do anything in isolation; any action immediately creates an international reaction. The reactions created by the Gulf war and the deportation of Palestinians are recent examples.

Both the United States and Israel suffered setbacks in public opinion; thus, action taken against Hamas or a similar movement cannot be entirely profitable for the United States. Second, Hamas is not General Noriega; Hamas is a popular movement with deep roots among the people; if any action is taken against Hamas, the resulting effect may reach other Arab countries and give rise to a public reaction against the United States. The first to be affected will be the rulers of these countries who will come under pressure and such a situation will not be in the long term interests of the United States. It is not pertinent to quote as an example here the extreme violence shown by Egyptian governments against Akhwan al Muslimoun for two important reasons: one, the situation at that time was different from that existing now. At that time, the people did not tend to view local reactions of governments in the light of international conspiracies. Second, the Akhwan al Muslimoun movement was not a popular movement like Hamas; the Akhwan involved only a small section of society and this fact made it relatively easy for Nasser and the rulers who followed him to take action against the Akhwan. But the situation is quite different now if not the opposite of what it was then. A deep conviction exists among the people that the United States and its satellites are engaged in crushing the Muslims and Muslims themselves have direct experience of this fact. Muslim rulers in the region are by and large the tools of the U. S. and carrying out its policies.

Consequently, JI does not have to fear the reaction of international conspiratorial forces. However, there are certain characteristics which it might be advantageous to JI to acquire.

In the event of an international plot by the United States and its satellites, we [JI] might be at a disadvantage because of our limited popular base. Movements with limited popular base, no matter how ideologically strong, nevertheless could be endangered by [international] reaction because they lack the kind of popular support needed to counter negative reactions. Movements with a strong popular base, when faced with negative reaction or activity, enter a different phase of struggle. Popular feeling for them increases greatly and the movement becomes a symbol, and as such, its memory remains alive for a long time in the minds of the people. Thus, our first priority should be to widen our popular base as soon as possible so that, when faced with a negative reaction, we may fulfill more effectively our historical destiny of creating a world wide change.

Popular support for ideological movements takes many forms. The ideal situation occurs when the movement attracts greater popular support. But even when the majority of the people do not support the movement, they may not be opposed to it or may be neutral toward it. Such a situation may not be an ideal one, but it is sufficient to allow the start of a large, all-encompassing struggle.

Nevertheless, a large popular base is necessary for the fulfilling of another need. As the circle of a movement's activity widens, the need increases for the participation of individuals of various capabilities who would prove themselves effective on different fronts. As long as JI's activity was local and regional, its present structure of support was sufficient; but after gaining a central role in international struggles, a widening of its circle [of participants] is becoming necessary; as its activity widens, this need becomes more apparent. It is thus necessary to keep this fact in mind in appraising the formation of Pasban and any future activity. The exigencies of the time and need have widened JI's role. Those who criticize it either do not understand it or are the agents of forces who disapprove of JI's international role.

We should not forget that JI's international role has not been assumed suddenly; such a role has always been included as an inevitable factor in JI's constitution and ideology. JI is playing an international role because it was destined to do so. It feels the pain of the world not because it is faint hearted but because it was created to take upon itself the hardships of the world; it cannot reject this role without rejecting its own soul. Many people say that JI is paying more attention to international affairs and less attention to domestic affairs; such an argument shows only that these people do not understand and are trying to confuse the issue. Domestic affairs can no longer be separated from international affairs. The crisis in Iraq and Kuwait was an international issue but in a short time it became the central problem of our political life and created a major public reaction. It is now an issue of a link between domestic and foreign affairs. It is surprising that those who level such criticisms at JI's role forget the injunctions on this subject contained in the Qoran and the dictums of the prophet; they forget that these are the precepts which JI follows when it feels for the sorrows of the world.

U.S. Seen Behind Dismissal of Sharif Government *93AS0872A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 3 May 93 p 4*

[Article by Ata Al Rahman: "The Dismissal of the Nawaz Sharif Government and America."]

[Text] What secret role did the United States play in the dismissal of the Nawaz Sharif government and the dissolving of the national assembly, elected in 1990, before the end of the constitutionally specified term? Did the United States have a hand in these events and did Ghulam Ishaq Khan's action at least have American approval? Or, as the State Department spokesman maintained in Washington last week, did the United States follow a policy of nonintervention in the affairs of Pakistan and, satisfied that the changes in Pakistan were in line with the constitutional limits, recognize the legality of the new Pakistan government?

It is not easy to arrive at the truth and draw conclusions based on internal evidence. Any steps the U. S. government might have taken to remove the Nawaz Sharif

government would have been secret; therefore, it is very difficult to find out the nature and manner of interference. It is also impossible to believe that, at this important juncture in Pakistan's history, the United States has adopted a policy of noninterference; the reason, simply, is that in the past 45 years, whenever Pakistan has faced a critical decision, the United States has interfered quite openly. It is believed that the dissolution of the 1954 constitutional assembly strengthened U. S. interests; later, Pakistan became a member of SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization]. If an assembly had been in existence, it would have had to ratify the agreements and this would not have been easy. Thus, by means of the unconstitutional measures of 1954, Pakistan's administration came into the hands of the civil and military bureaucracies and politicians became merely their tools (even a seasoned politician like the late Suhrawardy). Thus it was that in the 1956 Suez war, our government sided with Britain and the United States against the Arabs and strengthened U. S. interests. In order to safeguard U.S. interests in the most efficient manner, it was very important for that country to have the rule of bureaucracy in Pakistan. In 1958 when, after the promulgation of the 1956 constitution, it was announced that, like it not, elections would be held and the date of March 1959 was set, Pakistan's civil and military bureaucracies once again became concerned that the elections might bring a representative government into office which they would have to obey. United States was concerned as well that if bureaucracy took a secondary role in Pakistan, the country would be free to follow its own foreign policy. Hence, not only did military and civil bureaucracies have a hand in the imposition of martial law in 1958, but the United States also approved of it. Later, martial law was imposed three more times on the country and each time, the United States had a secret hand in the matter; and the reason was that, in the opinion of the CIA, only a military government in Pakistan would have the "stability" to safeguard United States interests in the area. It is another matter that from 1968-69, the United States turned against Ayub Khan because Ayub's hold on national affairs had weakened; and in 1988, Zia became a persona non grata to the United States because, after the withdrawal of the Red army from Afghanistan, he wanted to see a strong Mujahedeen government established in Afghanistan whereas the United States was against the idea.

The reason for recounting this history is to arrive at the truth of the U.S. claim that it was not interfering in the affairs of Pakistan. Past history does not support such a claim. The civil or representative government which had the approval of the United States was Benazir Bhutto's administration which held office from November 1988 to August 1990. All observers agree that after the 1988 elections [in Pakistan] and before the meeting of the national assembly, U. S. ambassador at that time, Robert Oakley, had a direct hand in persuading president Ghulam Ishaq Khan to appoint Benazir Bhutto as the prime minister. The reasons for U. S. support for Bhutto were as follows: 1. Benazir had turned away from

socialism long ago. 2. From 1984 to 1988, she had made numerous trips to Washington and assured U. S. authorities that she would follow policies favoring U. S. interests. 3. Benazir and her People's Party are secular in thought and far removed from the forces for Islamic renewal which the United States calls fundamentalists. That was the reason why, for the first time in Pakistan's history, the United States openly supported a civil and more or less representative government. Benazir had U. S. support as long as she was in office. The only complaint that United States had against Pakistan was the country's failure to roll back its nuclear program. When Benazir visited the United States in July 1989, President George Bush complained of lack of progress on the [nuclear] issue. He sent for the CIA director and showed her photographs and maps. Benazir offered the excuse that the military leadership was responsible for it all and that she was kept in the dark. Reportedly, the United States accepted this excuse. For Benazir's sake, President Bush, in October 1989, once again certified to the Congress that Pakistan was not moving its nuclear program to the weapons grade level. On 6 August, 1990, Benazir's government fell victim to the 8th amendment at the hands of Ghulam Ishaq Khan and on 1 October, 1990, George Bush refused to certify Pakistan's nuclear program. U. S. military and economic aid to Pakistan was suspended.

In November 1990, Islami Jamhoori Ittehad [IJI], under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif, won the elections. During the election campaign, IJI promised the nation that if it came into office, it would put into effect measures for attaining self-sufficiency which would remove the need for any U. S. aid. But after gaining office, Nawaz Sharif changed his priorities; he and his advisors launched plans aimed at gaining U. S. approval. To a certain extent, their policies were shaped by the pressures of the time; but the government should have, at the same time, paid special attention to the goal of self-sufficiency so that after a period of time, there would no longer be any great need for U.S. aid or U.S. approval. Nawaz Sharif continued to assure the United States that he was not a fundamentalist but he failed to pay any attention to the fact that from the point of view of ideology, culture and other considerations, the United States preferred Benazir to him; hence, what Sharif needed was to strengthen his base within the country, to avoid quarrel with elements close to him ideologically and to proceed with speed on measures for attaining self sufficiency. Nawaz Sharif failed to act on any of these policies. Meanwhile, when the United States saw that in spite of the suspension of military and economic aid, the people of Pakistan refused to bow to pressure and since under U. S. and international laws, the United States could not put further pressure on Pakistan, the United States raised a new issue and confronted Pakistan with a new bogey, namely, the threat to designate Pakistan a terrorist country. The order was issued that Pakistan should not give aid of any kind to the Kashmiris; that it should show no sympathy for the Sikhs otherwise Pakistan would be designated a terrorist country. This was a

new hardship inflicted on Nawaz Sharif's government. The prime minister himself was on the horns of a dilemma best described as damned if he does and damned if he does not. If he ceased help to the Kashmiris, he would anger his own nation and if he continued this help, he would draw U. S. wrath. Designating Pakistan a terrorist country would mean that U. S. companies would not trade with Pakistan and U.S. allies would be asked to follow a similar policy. Nawaz Sharif's government was not prepared for such a situation. As was mentioned earlier, after coming into office, Nawaz Sharif and his close advisors did not pay any serious attention to following a policy aimed at self sufficiency and thus had never imagined that they would be facing such a situation. Hence, efforts were made to convince U. S. authorities that Pakistan was not helping the Sikhs and that if any help had been inadvertently given, the mistake would not be repeated; and that as far as the Kashmiris were concerned, Pakistan was not helping them directly but that, because of the UN resolutions, Pakistan was bound to support on principle the stand the Kashmiris had taken. The U.S. government's reply was that even if the Pakistan government was not providing direct help, Jamaat-i-Islami, Tabliqui Jamaat [party for religious propagation] and certain retired ISI [Inter Services Intelligence] officials were providing such help; that the government should stop this aid or be designated terrorist. Obviously, it was beyond the power of the government to do so; and the fact is that the U. S. government's threats were not occasioned by its anxiety over Pakistan's so-called terrorist activity in Kashmir. U.S. experts and observers are well aware that what is taking place in Kashmir is not terrorism but a struggle for freedom; that human rights are being violated by Indian troops and police. The U.S. government's real purpose was to use threats about terrorism to force Pakistan to roll back its nuclear program. Even if Nawaz Sharif wanted to, he could not have done so. The U.S. government's dissatisfaction with Sharif's government emerged as a clear fact.

In the autumn of 1992 when U. S. elections were going to be held and it became apparent that the Democratic party would win, Benazir Bhutto, realizing this possibility, decided to start her long march at that precise time. Traditionally, the Democratic party is opposed to Pakistan; its leaders and supporting intellectuals favor India; but they also like the Benazir model People's Party. Hence, when Benazir started her movement, she hoped for success. In spite of repeated efforts, she failed to attract the people to her side; but she received a great deal of publicity on the international level. The administration was about to change in the United States Ten days before president elect Clinton was to take the oath of office, Mr. Oakley came to Islamabad and met with Benazir Bhutto on 10 January. On 12 January, the Sharif government offered Benazir the chairmanship of the national assembly's foreign affairs committee which she accepted. Everyone was astounded by this sudden turn-about. But in fact, a large scale game plan had been put into effect which would bear fruit in two and half to three

months. After accepting the post, Benazir left for Britain to undergo medical treatment. Nawaz Sharif was under the false impression that he had won a great victory; that having defeated one rival, he was now in a position to consolidate his power. He wanted an end to the 8th amendment and a reduction in the powers of the president. He looked forward to gaining all that was coming to an elected prime minister under a democratic parliamentary system. Consequently, a confrontation ensued between president Ghulam Ishaq Khan and prime minister Nawaz Sharif. The United States intensified its threats of designating the government as terrorist. Nawaz Sharif asked Benazir's help against the 8th amendment but she gave him a negative answer. Ghulam Ishaq Khan was burning with the desire for vengeance against a prime minister whom he had placed in office and who now wanted to take away his powers. At a signal from Ghulam Ishaq Khan, a federal minister, Sardar Asif Ahmad Ali, who was resigning from the cabinet, accused the government of encouraging terrorism; his manner gave the impression that he had just left the U. S. embassy. The gulf between the president and the prime minister widened to such a degree that in spite of his efforts, Sharif was unable to bridge it. Perhaps secret hands were also at work. At any rate, on the evening of 18 April, Benazir returned to Islamabad from London by way of Karachi. It did not take more than half an hour for an agreement to be reached between her and Ghulam Ishaq Khan. The sharp blade of the 8th amendment severed the head of the Nawaz Sharif government with one blow. How far the United States was secretly involved in these events, we do not have any "incontrovertible" evidence to present.

Paper—Malott Remarks on Kashmir 'Positive Change'

BK3106145193 Islamabad THE NEWS in English 31 May 93 p 7

[Editorial: "First sign of evenhandedness"]

[Text] John R. Malott, US deputy Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia, has sounded a warning to Delhi that its human rights record could affect overall Indo-US relations. In an interview to the Voice of America, Mr Malott, who recently visited Pakistan and India, said that human rights are important to the Clinton administration and that if the "problem is not dealt with, this had the potential to spill over into other aspects of relationship".

Mr Malott's observations about India's poor human rights record echo what he said during his Delhi visit. Then he made pointed references towards India's human rights violations in occupied Kashmir and warned that Washington was watching Delhi's performance on that front. Predictably, his remarks came under sharp criticism from both official and unofficial quarters in India. The Indian Home Minister, S.B. Chavan, was quick to tell Mr Malott that he should mind his own business.

That Mr Malott restated US concern over an issue which has become Delhi's abiding shame indicate that Washington is waking up to ground realities in South Asia and was prepared to do some thing about it. This marks a positive change in US policy toward South Asia which was previously characterized by contrived indifference to Delhi's flagrant disregard for international rules of morality. In fact on many occasions India's well documented human rights violations went unnoticed by Washington in particular and other influential western countries in general. That only emboldened Delhi which, on the one hand, blamed Islamabad for fabricating stories about its human rights violations, and on the other continued to tighten its grip around occupied Kashmir.

But now with more and more countries, including the US, taking cognizance of what is happening inside Kashmir, India's Kashmir policy in general and its human rights violations in particular will come under increasing pressure. Whether this pressure will force Indian policy makers to rethink their flawed policies or not is an open question. But at least this indicates that a wrong is not going unnoticed or being condoned by the international community.

Mr Malott's statement also seeks to belie the impression, very strong in India, that because of strains in Pak-US ties, Delhi can afford to take Washington's unqualified friendship for granted. Delhi cannot be really blamed for thinking along these lines because an element of discrimination was long evident in Washington's dealings with Islamabad on issues as nuclear non-proliferation and terrorism. But now when the new Clinton administration is talking about injecting evenhandedness in its approach towards South Asia, the situation will hopefully change. But the real test of American evenhandedness in South Asia will be when words are translated into deeds.

Relations With India Seen Hampered by 'Fundamentalisms'

93AS0777H Karachi DAWN in English 4 Apr 93 p 13

[Article by M. B. Naqvi: "Why CBM's Produce No Trust"; quotation marks and italicized words as published]

[Text] American publicists, official and non-official, are assiduously trying to teach Indian and Pakistani opinion-makers (and presumably decision-makers also) the virtues of CBMs (confidence building measures).

Authoritative American policy-makers and experienced negotiators have shown how the CBMs were devised; how they actually worked and produced a detente between erstwhile adversaries, the Atlantic and Warsaw Pact powers; and how that led eventually to MBFR (mutually balanced force reduction) talks' success and signing of SALT I and START I and II pacts; and along the way to actual friendly cooperation between erstwhile

enemies quite a few secondary steps to discourage nuclear proliferation have been taken.

Although there are many in this country who smell a rat in all this, it is churlish to deny the Americans credit for meaning well. At worst, they are, as the sole superpower, trying to prevent a disruptive war between India and Pakistan as a component part of maintaining a balance of power. But since the third India-Pakistan war on Kashmir shall be too bad and unwelcome to both sides we owe some gratitude to Uncle Sam for restraining both sides, even if the idea of being managed by Washington hurts our sensibilities. On the one side, even as the war clouds keep lowering its nuclear dimension is daily becoming more obtrusive and, on the other, it is becoming abundantly clear that all the likely damage shall leave all the problems between the two nations sans acceptable solutions. Whatever their motives, peace-makers deserve to be blessed.

There is more to the present situation in South Asia—and indeed beyond in west, southwest and central Asia—than what the Americans see. But the Indus and Gangetic valleys are now the heartlands of two revivalist fundamentalisms or extremisms: Hindu and Islamic. The two are reinforcing each other. (It is true that Islamic extremists in Iran and Arab countries appear to have their own agendas, derived from local grievances against Western imperialisms and later against American manipulations; in its more rounded and intellectually satisfying form, what Maulana Abul Ala Maududi taught was also an influence on Mr Hasan Ali Banna, the founder of Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen, though it is safer to say that they influenced and reinforced each other). Most schools of Hindu revivalism are primarily aimed at Muslims and are emotionally sustained by latter's dislike. Two very big storms are still gathering in Asia and when they finally break, mind-boggling consequences will follow.

What flows from what would probably look to the outside world as nasty and reversion to primitive passions and would certainly be unwelcome to all. But the West would not be vitally involved. It will mostly watch in fascinated horror. A revivalist fundamentalism shall primarily harm the very community of people it sets out to revive.

Quite simply, reviving a dead past is an impossibility. So long as the effort shall last, no progress will be possible. Not even the spirit or purposes of any ancient period—having been contingent on the conditions then—can be recreated. Progress now can only be dependent on a vast expansion of education, of humanities as much as sciences and technology, that itself would presuppose continuous expansion and humane distribution of national wealth. This requires not only a scientific methodology in production processes but also in attitudes and mental constructs—the very things that, while producing material and cultural progress, dissolve all fundamentalist approaches.

Damage to Western interests from Islamic or Hindu fundamentalisms can only be small and incidental. But in the actually rich plural societies such extremism, in order to succeed, has to adopt fascist methods. Without this they cannot seriously hurt or harm minorities or 'un' elements. That will dissolve the bonds that hold those richly plural societies together. Processes of continuous splitting is what is to be expected as a result. What is happening in Yugoslavia, Afghanistan and former Soviet Union, including what is widely feared, is a sort of sad benchmark of what sick nationalistic and revivalist movements can do to the societies where they germinate.

These two fundamentalisms, Hindu and Islamic, are the nemesis of South Asia. One is leaving out the local version of Islamic movements elsewhere in Asia for present purposes. These are now directly related; reactions to Ayodhya Masjid showed the willing paralysis of Indian state structures and symbolic was the Pakistani minister himself wielding the pick axe to bring down a *mandir* in retaliation. That showed the insidious reach of these basically irrational and atavistic movements. It is such mind-sets—CBMs producing a detente and that later can lead to other and better things—that refuse to respond to what is after all a rational approach that accords with their national interests as seen by themselves.

One expects to receive some flak on this, though sadly the denials will ring hollow to most humanists. But that concerns the fundamentals of the issues involved. On a more mundane plane and for day-to-day purposes, there is a more obvious reason why the approach to, and the know-how of, detente-making, suggested by obviously knowledgeable Americans is not being accepted, except for clever-by-half motivation of not displeasing Washington they go through the motions of proposing and accepting various CBMs without quite implementing them or even acknowledging to their people. What is involved? Let us first look at the only instance of former enemies finally arriving at a fairly large-scale friendly cooperation through various disarmament moves, beginning with CBMs.

A crucially important motivational input in the CBMs and detente between the Atlantic and Soviet blocs was the wide-scale fear of nuclear weapons and warfare. The scale of destruction had become mind-boggling and totally foolish. Both sides had convinced themselves that any resort to military force as an instrument of policy will inevitably unleash a massive nuclear reaction, requiring a further nuclear riposte—with the only possible result of making this earth uninhabitable. No one could win a war against a nuclear power and the proposition will hold so long as nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons remain in large enough numbers, as is the case. In fact, among nuclear powers war has ceased to be an instrument of policy. This realisation had preceded the stage at which CBMs began being accepted and implemented by many years. The sides took years to absorb

the fact that despite the plentitude of powers, they are incapable of gaining any objective by using military force.

This is not the case with India and Pakistan. They still hanker after achieving their immediate objectives—forcing India to loosen its military occupation of Kashmir or its obverse of frustrating Pakistani desires of changing the status quo regarding Kashmir—by a combination of minimal military force, sophisticated articulation and involving the major powers. They are still refusing to accept that war has ceased to be an acceptable way of achieving political purposes—perhaps because of extreme disparity of nuclear armaments in the two states.

Whether or not nuclear weapons in the subcontinent are accepted as unusable—as this writer believes—a combination of Asia-wide trends and the extremely unstable local demographic pluralities, in the context of massive poverty and the cost and destructiveness of even the conventional war ought to make the government shudder at the prospect of another war. Would they do so? But the sad fact is that there is still too much macho readiness to achieve objectives even if the risk of sparking off the war is real enough. Where is the scope of CMBs and detente, then?

Upturn in Relations With Russia Seen

93AS0776G Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES
in English 9 Apr 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Ties With Russia: A Positive Turn"]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev has completed his visit to Pakistan during which he had wide-ranging talks with his counterpart, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Mohammad Siddiq Khan Kanjo and met Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif at a breakfast hosted by him. Expressing his views during the meeting, Mr. Kozyrev said that "the Russian Federation considers Pakistan a very important country of South Asia and wants to do away with the policy of the former Soviet Union by adopting a balanced foreign policy." He also renewed the invitation to the Prime Minister to visit the Russian Federation. On his part, Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif assured the visiting Foreign Minister that Pakistan fully supported the policies pursued by President Boris Yeltsin and was ready to cooperate with him for making a new beginning in the region.

Pakistan has always had significant relations with Moscow. Even during the period when the Soviets had occupied Afghanistan and tension between the two countries was at its height, Pakistan's economic ties with Soviet Russia remained unimpaired and the flow of assistance for the Karachi Steel Mills kept increasing. In the present changed circumstances new avenues of mutually fruitful cooperation can be explored. During the current visit of Russian Foreign Minister, a treaty has been initialled on principles which will govern the

bilateral relations between Pakistan and Russia. It sets out internationally recognised principles for conduct of relations and defines the fields of cooperation. Formal signatures on the treaty will be put by the Prime Minister and the Russian President when he goes to Moscow on an official visit later this year. As regards the Soviet prisons-of-war still held by the Afghan Mujahideen, the Prime Minister assured his guest that he would leave no stone unturned to bring about their release. A joint Pakistan-Russian Commission has been established to coordinate action for the purpose. During talks between the two Foreign Ministers, the issues discussed included economic relations, the Kashmir dispute, nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia and cooperation between the two countries in various fields. It was decided to negotiate a trade protocol for the current year without delay after resolving the exchange rate issue. On the Kashmir issue, the Russian Foreign Minister clarified that without taking sides, Russia desires a peaceful solution of the problem. He also supported Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif's proposal for five-nation consultations aimed at evolving a mechanism for achieving nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia. The visit of Russian Foreign Minister can well be regarded as a strengthening of relations between the two countries, a process which was initiated by Pakistan during Secretary-General Akram Zaki's journey to Moscow last year. It gives a new dimension to our foreign relations.

Indo-Russian Defense Cooperation Feared

93AS0776I Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English
14 Apr 93 p 6

[Article by EAS Bokhari: "Indian Military Scene: Enough Is Not Enough"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Even to a casual observer the induction of Dr. APJ Abdul Kalam, the famous Indian missile wizard, as scientific adviser to Indian defence minister is ominous. He is known as a go-getter and has put India on the missile map of the world. And that, mind you, is in spite of the MTCR (Missile Technology Control Regime). There are sceptics in Pakistan and elsewhere who thought he would bog down in the desk job, but it appears that he is doing equally well in his present assignment which may appear to be lacklustre.

One manifestation of his defence assignment is the budget outlay for the year 92-93 and 93-94 which stands at 17500 crore and 19180 crore rupees respectively. This is the declared figure and the actuals may be totally different with perhaps a large differential. (Even this is a mammoth and terrifying figure anyway).

Quoting from the open Indian Press (see the Sentinel, Guwahati, of February II, 1993), a figure of Rs [Rupees] 210,000 million has been indicated as defence outlay for the current year. Here is a quote from the newspaper "...Therefore, observers see a growing tussle between the finance minister, Dr. Man Mohan Singh, and the defence minister over increased allocations for the defence

budget. Clearly, the present quantum of some Rs. 210,000 million is not adequate for meeting the increased defence demands."

Besides a voracious indigenous defence production programme (India has about 51 ordnance factories located all over the country) and a buying spree of defence equipment, India has only recently had some important visitors from the U.K., France and Russia and one can easily say that the "Indian arms bazaar is hotting up."

India has a number of on-going projects like the 'Arjun' MBT (Main Battle Tank) and the much talked about LCA (Light Combat Aircraft) which have somehow ambled along. Some people even thought that these have been shelved but all the same these appear to have reemerged and are much in the news. May be the New World Order (NWO) has something to do with this as the Russian pipeline appears to be drying up for India as far as the supply of arms is concerned. As we should see, this has not actually happened.

Mr. John Major was perhaps one of the most significant visitors to India recently. Besides the talk about a British jet trainer the Indian newspaper is replete with the news of a Rs. 2,500 crore gun deal with the U.K. firm Vickers (Vickers Shipbuilding and Engineering Limited). This firm which has previously supplied tanks and guns to India has on cards a deal to supply a very large quantity of SP [Self-propelled] guns. Just by looking at the figures of the contract one can say that the number involved may at least be as much as the Bofors guns (155 MM Howitzers). The Bofor contract was for Rs. 1,600 crore for about 400 pieces.

The latest Indian Press coverage indicates (See Indian Express New Delhi 12 Feb. 1993), that the Indians are trying to buy AS90-SP (Self-Propelled) gun-turrets only for the Army (or more precisely for the two strike corps which India has earmarked as national reserve). According to the Indian Press the payments for these turrets will be made in the ensuing five years.

The Indians, it appears, are thinking of a rather 'hybridised' SP gun. In fact they have previously tried to put the 130 MM gun on old Vijayanta chassis but this did not succeed. The present arrangement consists of putting the VSEL GBT 155 MM gun on the indigenous Vijayanta tank chassis to be powered by an ex-Soviet T-72 tank. This all looks very complicated and I do not know how all this will be integrated; i.e., the British, Indian and the Russian equipment in one SP gun. I suppose the Indians have done it. As it is, they claim that the much needed SP gun will be in service with the strike corps by the end of the year. (Its cost per gun is around Rs. 6.3 crores). The total requirement for the two corps is around 430 pieces.

The rapport with the former Soviet Union appears to have been revived and the problems of spares has been overcome. Even there are news of a joint launching of Indo-Russian satellite very soon. It should be noted that for all their declared missions the satellites (especially

the remote-sensing ones) have military spin-offs. These generally consist of intelligence gathering. The Indians say that this new satellite "will provide clues to the presence of petroleum and other minerals and natural resources."

Reverting to the British defence firms, it is known that a British company Thorn EMI Electronics Limited has signed an agreement at Bangalore with Bharat Electronics Limited (BEL) for setting up a joint venture company in India for the worldwide marketing of the cymbeline mortar locating radars. The details of this venture are still to be worked out.

Then there is the hot news about the latest offer of the Russian fighter aircraft, and in this connection a totally new and unfamiliar name, i.e., S-54 has been offered to Indians by Yeltsin. The arrangements for a joint production have also been offered to India at a cost of \$500 million. Very little is known about this aircraft which is stated to be in prototype stage in Russia and has two versions i.e., a jet trainer and complete fighter aircraft. As can be visualised, this latest Russian aircraft must be having state of the art technology, both avionics and weapon systems.

The Indians seem to be almost certain to produce their LCA, whatever may happen by 2005, and as is reported in the Indian Press a limited production of the 'Arjun' is already on the cards. I have just highlighted some facets of Indian militarism where enough is not enough. This, I am sure, would create destabilisation in the region and spur the arms race and confrontation.

Russians To Assist in Dam Construction

93AS0793A Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER
in English 11 Apr 93 p 16

[Italicized words as published]

[Text] Lahore, April 10: Russian offer to build "Mirani dam" on the river Dasht in Balochistan is going to be finalized on Wednesday, after three decades of its initiation, sources told *Business Recorder* here on Saturday.

Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif has given his commitment to finance 50 per cent of the total cost of the project in order to reactivate economic relations with the Russian Federation.

According to the sources final discussion between WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority], NESPAK [National Engineering Service of Pakistan], and the Russian officials would be held on Tuesday and Wednesday in the provincial metropolis where head office of WAPDA is located.

During the talks in Lahore, the construction cost of the Mirani dam would be finalized as, at present, it is being disputed between the Russian and the NESPAK. The dispute over the cost was the latest cause of delay in the construction.

Russians, who are now desperately in need of cash, have assessed the cost of construction of the dam at Rs [Rupees] 4.9 billion, while NESPAK experts believe that Mirani dam could be constructed in Rs 3.8 billion.

The offer of building Mirani dam on river Dasht was made in the early 1960's by the erstwhile Soviet Union. Due to various geopolitical reasons, the plan could not be executed.

However, with the initiation of the Prime Minister and now the desperate need of Russians to look for some business the plan of Mirani dam is going to be finalised. Physical work on it is to begin in this year.

Relations With Central Asian States Viewed

93AS0794A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
16 Apr 93 p 11

[Editorial: "Pak-Central Asian Relations."]

[Text] Intellectuals of various schools of thought have expressed the view that Pakistan should try to establish close relations with the newly liberated Muslim countries of Central Asia; but these relations should not be established on the basis of an Islamic ideology alone but would have to be built on commerce and culture as well. It is true that these Central Asian states have religious ties to Pakistan and after their separation from Russia, their Islamic identity is being restored. But it would be wishful thinking on our part to expect that these countries would automatically draw close to Pakistan and give it preference over other countries on the basis of a common religion alone. In today's world, no country will ignore its commercial and financial interests. Hence, to bring the Central Asian countries closer to us, we would have to promote trade relations with them. Undoubtedly, the people of those countries have a warm corner in their hearts for Pakistan because of their religious ties; but in order to benefit from this feeling, we would have to pay attention to their interests. Israel and India are trying hard to gain influence in the Muslim countries of Central Asia and are offering these countries more concessions than Pakistan. In this era of competition, we would be deluding ourselves if we thought that these countries would reject the terms offered by India and Israel and promote relations with Pakistan instead. Pakistan needs to formulate a pertinent policy regarding these countries based on concrete realities and to do this, we need to undertake detailed studies of that area. Regrettably, so far our policy has been limited to hearsay and suppositions and we have not studied these countries in depth. If we do not act quickly to remedy our mistake, we shall fall behind in the race.

Editorial Views Status of Arabs in Peshawar

93AS0793F Karachi DAWN in English 11 Apr 93 p 7

[Editorial: "Arab Immigrants"]

[Text] Pakistan's assurance of a fair deal to genuine immigrants from Arab countries must set at rest needless controversies about their fate. No action is planned

against Arabs living in Peshawar and elsewhere in the country who are in possession of valid travel documents and have been duly registered. But the government is determined to check those who are found abusing Pakistan's hospitality. Islamabad was forced to initiate measures against illegal immigrants when some Arab countries alleged that their dissidents were using Pakistan's soil for launching terrorist activities against the countries of their origin. Egyptian security forces claim that several militants wanted for terrorism inside Egypt have found sanctuary in Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan. In his meeting with President Hosni Mubarak in Bonn, Mr. Nawaz Sharif had apprised him of the plans to monitor the activities of the non-governmental organisations operating in Peshawar. As a follow-up measure, Pakistan's Interior Minister will soon visit Cairo to discuss with his Egyptian counterpart how best the two countries can cooperate in controlling militant activities from their respective territories.

Peshawar plays host to over 3,000 Arabs who had joined the Afghan Mujahideen in their long drawn-out war against the Soviet-backed regime in Kabul. About 2,800 are registered with the authorities but many are believed to have been operating without any valid document. Some of them are said to constitute the hard core of the militants who apparently are utilising their extended stay in Pakistan for pursuing their dubious activities. They were welcome here when their struggle was directed against the Russian interventionists. But now that aggression has been defeated and the Afghans are free to order their own affairs, the outsiders' mission has been completed and their services are no more required. This the Afghan leaders have made abundantly clear. Moreover, Pakistan cannot allow its territory to be used for subversion and terrorism. This explains Pakistan's crackdown on illegal Arab immigrants. In the circumstances, it would be desirable if the Arab militants voluntarily leave Pakistan. Their presence in a sensitive region of Pakistan without any justification can only embarrass this country's relations with friendly nations.

Demonstrations Against Detention of Arabs Reported

93AS0793E Karachi DAWN in English 17 Apr 93 p 7

[Text] Lahore, April 16: The Jamaat-i-Islami and the Muttahida Ulema Council on Friday held separate rallies on The Mall to protest against the Government action against Arabs, stationed in Peshawar, by arresting and jailing them.

Holding demonstrations near Masjid-i-Shuhada on The Mall, after the Friday prayers, the two organisations described the action against the spirit of Islam and on the dictates of the American government.

They were of the view that the Arabs had made valuable contribution to the Afghan Jihad and their arrested was tantamount to betraying their sacrifices in Afghanistan.

The Muttahida Ulema Council leaders spoke against the Government action at the mosque before they came out of the mosque on the Mall to join hold the protest rally.

The two organisations demanded the release and the Government's permission for the Arabs to continue to stay in Pakistan.

Demo Against Detention of Arabs

Islamabad, April 16: Muttahida Ulema Council, Sipahi-Sahaba Pakistan [SSP] and Islami Jamiat Talaba staged a demonstration outside Lal Masjid after Friday prayers to protest against the detention of Arab nationals working with NGO's [Nongovernmental Organization] in the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province].

The demonstrators were carrying placards and banners with slogans "Down with U.S.A.", "Down with Israel" "Down with India" and "Release Arab Mujahids".

The demonstration, which was peaceful, lasted for one hour.—PPI

Regional Affairs

Paper Faults Bhutto, PPP for 'Lack of Direction'

BK3105133993 Islamabad *THE NATION* in English
31 May 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Benazir's new tilt"]

[Text] Speaking at a seminar in Islamabad, Ms Benazir Bhutto has said that the past should be buried and politics of consensus should be pursued. Four decades of politics based on vendettas and religious bigotry had to end. It is an unexceptionable sentiment, and it sounded even better when she welcomed Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif's offer of conciliation. But then came the flip-flop in her speech. She said that she sided with President Ishaq Khan for the sake of issues and not because she approved of him. And while she was willing to talk to the Prime Minister for a patch up, fresh elections were the only remedy to the prevailing political crisis. Added to this was the unkindest cut of all. She could have spared the Prime Minister the sarcasm of calling him a born-again democrat. Whatever her reason for joining forces with the President to get the National Assembly dissolved, once that was out of contention, she ought to have distanced herself from any other game that the President had in mind. She should have had no part in the dissolution of the Provincial Assemblies. She has no doubt been insisting on the dissolution of the Provincial Assemblies but her rationale then was that the Provincial governments could be used to rig elections to the National Assembly. But now that the National Assembly has been restored, lending any direct or indirect support to dissolutions at the provincial level will

only destabilise the political process. What she has been asking for is general elections at all levels but what she is likely to get is separate elections, assuming of course that the Provincial Assemblies do not get restored through court orders. As a result when the elections at the national level are held, some Provincial Assemblies will be in place and will therefore be able to influence the national polls.

There seems to be a lack of clear thinking or adhocism bordering on opportunism, in the way that the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] is handling the present crisis. Its siding with the President to begin with, looked unprincipled enough. Having lost that battle and having accepted the olive branch of the Prime Minister for cooperation, now its siding with forces inimical to the political process betrays an unforgivable lack of direction. Ms Bhutto says that she would even let her party suffer if that helped a national cause. But what she has to consider is that she may end up losing both. Her present drift may harm her party as well as the national cause.

Kashmiri Militant Leaders Interviewed on Training, Plans

93AS0856B Karachi *AKHBAR-E-JEHAN* in Urdu
19 Apr 93 p 14

[Interview with Kashmiri Jihad Leader Jamal Afghani; date and place not given]

[Text] This interview with Jamal Afghani, the commander-in-chief of the Jihad Force of Kashmir has been reproduced from ANCHAL, a magazine published in Srinagar.

[ANCHAL] In your opinion, in which phase is the freedom struggle?

[Afghani] All the world's movements have progressed by going through various phases. As for the campaign for Kashmir's freedom, it is very different in its origins, sensitivity, and demands than other such campaigns. This campaign was like a suppressed cry for help until 1987. Later, in early 1987, this campaign became a challenging call. The foundations of Hindu imperialism suddenly began to shake, and then the horizon became red. Lightning struck, and atrocities and barbarism surrounded the beautiful valley of flowers. This campaign became a big shrill cry. At the next point, people with different ideologies and beliefs suddenly joined our ranks. When the question of purge emerged, the third party helped us. Now the campaign is returning to those hands that originally started it, and at this time, the atrocities have reached their extreme. We can rightfully say, with the history of Islam and the Holy Koran as witness, that the Kashmir freedom campaign has reached a decisive point. It may not be in the last phase; however, this is a phase which is close to the point where, instead of raising slogans for our demands, we will send out invitations to celebrate our victory, and will raise the flag of revolution.

[ANCHAL] Why is not the campaign for Kashmir's independence getting support and endorsement at the international level, which is being given to similar campaigns in other parts of the world?

[Afghani] If you are a kafir, then you depend on swords. If you are a good Muslim, then you fight even without a sword. I do not know which campaign you are talking about or which ones are being supported. At the same time, you must explain what you mean by support. All I know is that whenever or wherever Muslims started a campaign to protect their existence, they were called fundamentalists or factionalists. Let us think of the campaign for Palestine's independence, which got a good deal of publicity. But the problem is still at square one. The Bosnia affair also got a lot of support, but was this problem ever resolved? Do you think expressing sorrow over the Burma massacre is support? Did anyone pay attention to Sayyeda Begum, who told her story after fleeing Burma for Bangladesh? Whose support helped Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, and other Central Asian Muslim states to become independent? If you look at all this, I am sure you will agree with me that Palestine is an old target of American control. I do not want to tie my hopes with them. If you want support from the United States of America, then instead of shedding blood, you should "shed" oil. In any case, one should be satisfied and be patient. Now the world will understand that the Kashmir issue is the problem of all people in the world, and this has been proved by the statements issued by the British and German foreign ministers. It has been proven by Asia Watch and other human rights organizations. The appointment of Minister Sayyed Mohammed Farooq, chairman of the Jammu-Kashmir People's League and convener of the Kashmir Freedom Fighters' Organization, as the member of the Islamic Alliance Conference, shows what Islamic nations think about Kashmir. It shows the success of our campaign. Are not you aware of British members of Parliament participating in a procession protesting Indian atrocities in Kashmir on 27 October in London?

[ANCHAL] With a few exceptions, almost all the countries in the Islamic bloc are ignoring the atrocities being committed in Jammu-Kashmir and the struggle of the people there. What are the basic reasons for this, in your opinion? In addition, what steps are you taking to shift popular opinion in these countries in your favor?

[Afghani] Thank you for relating the Kashmir issue with Islamic countries and doing your duty, and calling this problem to be Islamic and of the Islamic world. As for your fear that most Islamic countries are ignoring this issue, I would agree with you to an extent. The fact is that when the Kashmir campaign was crawling on its knees during the last 40 years, India had been spreading misinformation and misunderstandings to bury this issue right here in Kashmir. What is worse, some popular Kashmiris were presented to the world as the leaders of Kashmir, and India got what it wanted. The so-called elections were held here. Later, when we learned how to stand up and walk, the people in front of us were busy

running around here and there. It is obvious that we have to offer various logical viewpoints to pave the way for holding a plebiscite here. This requires time; however, we will not give it up just because everyone is quiet about it. All Islamic countries support us, and I think that you will agree with me about if you directly take a look at the campaign itself. It is unfair to accuse the Islamic countries of being silent about the atrocities being committed against the Kashmiris. They raised their voices in objection whenever they heard the cries of pain. We have to see how aware they are of facts. By the grace of Allah, we are working toward it. We have accelerated our diplomatic efforts. If you review Mr. Rehmani's activities for the last two years, you will definitely agree with me that we are doing all we can to get their support. We ask: Why do not you help these people who are praying because they are fed up with atrocities and want help from Allah? They want your support.

[ANCHAL] The People's League is a purely political organization. By establishing a militant group, have not you reduced your political influence?

[Afghani] Before I answer your question, I would like you to define it first. If you have seen the manifesto of the Kashmir People's League, published in 1974, then you would not declare the League to be a purely political organization. We have pointed this out in the manifesto. After Al-Fatah, the People's League is the second freedom-fighting group. Anyway, when the people of India stopped listening to our political talk, then the leadership of the League thought it necessary to introduce militancy into the group. This way, it was made clear to the people that the goals we declared in 1974 would be achieved, regardless of the path we had to take. The fear you have expressed about affecting the organization is not felt by us.

[ANCHAL] Why did the Jihad Force separated from Al-Jihad?

[Afghani] Please study the 19 and 20 June 1992 newspapers. In them we published Mr. Mohammed Farooq Rehmani's statement. All we have to say here is that the Jihad Force was not even established, and the question of its separating does not arise. A few people did desert the People's Party and the Jihad Force. Why? You have to contact them to find out.

[ANCHAL] Under what kind of structure do the combatants related to the Jihad Force operate?

[Afghani] You have used the word "combatant" instead of "mujahid." This hurts me. However, I will not argue about it, because I know you could not help it. As for our organization's structure, it is arranged as follows. The mujaheddin in the Jihad Force obey the Constitution and chairman of the Jihad Force. In addition, a commander in-chief has been appointed. For every two-district zone we have one regional commander, and for three districts we have a deputy commander. In addition to all this, we have appointed district commanders,

deputy district commanders, assistant district commanders, tehsil commanders, company commanders, zonal commanders, and section commanders. Also, we have appointed advisers to the commanders.

[ANCHAL] There have been many incidents where armed people associated with some organization have given very negative impressions of themselves. How do you treat such rifle-carrying persons?

[Jamal Afghani] Yes, such incidents did take place, and people were angry because of these. If such mujaheddin are directly related to our organization, then I would support punishing them publicly. However, if such rifle-carrying individuals are members of some other organization, then all I can do is just identify their deeds, so that people can tell the difference between right and wrong. We found the attitude of the people to be positive, because we asked our mujaheddin to protect them.

[ANCHAL] The incidence of human rights deprivation by the Indian armed forces in Kashmir has passed an extreme, and even though India has been internationally condemned, it refuses to stop this practice. How can we stop it?

[Afghani] When a person's death is near, he forgets how to breathe. He becomes deranged and begins to hit his head, hands, and feet without any reason. He becomes agitated and bothers people who try to help him. The situation remains for a short time, and then that person dies. The same is true about the Indian empire now. It does not know what it is doing. It has gone crazy. For our campaign this is a good omen, and our concrete steps are the best answer to Indian atrocities. Our military commanders have to study our enemy's policy carefully before forming a military action plan. I believe that after every hardship, problem, and trouble, one gets happiness and relief (Koran, p. 30).

[ANCHAL] Is there any possibility of having talks with India now?

[Afghani] It is possible if the parent's love for the thousands of fatherless children can be brought back. If the heads of those criminals who raped our sisters are bowed down on their feet, if the love of the mothers can be brought back with the blood of the children they lost, and if our brothers who are buried under snow on the border become alive and come back, then perhaps we can have peace talks with India. But we cannot have peace talks with India without all these. We feel that we have to offer the lives of our young soldiers and fight.

Paper Condemns Demolition of Muslim Buildings in India

BK2505144793 Lahore JANG in Urdu 15 May 93 p 4

[Editorial: "Plan To Demolish Muslim Properties in India"]

[Text] The Bombay Municipal Corporation [BMC] has started razing thousands of buildings by bulldozers,

thereby initiating a scheme devised by it to demolish 25,836 allegedly illegal buildings which include 326 mosques and hundreds of buildings which belong to Muslims. The majority of the buildings affected under this operation in the Dongri locality also belong to Muslims. Although demolition of alleged illegal buildings is an internal affair of the BMC and the Indian Government, it is very strange that only buildings of Muslims and mosques are being targeted. It appears that the inclusion of only a few Hindu buildings in the demolition drive is merely a token. Emboldened by the weakness and susceptibility displayed by the Indian rulers during the demolition of the Babri Mosque and thereafter, the Hindu extremists, according to their pre-planned program, have started implementing their unholy design of wiping out the Muslim historical and cultural heritage from India. They want to wipe out the traces of Muslim culture as they did with the Buddhist heritage. India should learn a lesson from the retribution it received for the attack on the Sikh holy shrine of the Golden Temple earlier. It is nothing but natural if the Muslims are concerned at the Hindu extremists' plot. They have justifiably cautioned the Indian Government that if the BMC carries on with its plan, there will be very serious consequences. The Government of Pakistan and the Islamic countries should jointly exert pressure on India to force it to abandon its unholy scheme of destroying the Muslim heritage. Otherwise, it will have to face very serious consequences. In this context, a coordinated strategy should also be evolved to apprise the world community on it.

Balochistan Said Center of Smuggling Into Iran

*93AS0776J Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER
in English 4 Apr 93 p 18*

[Article by Laila A. Ali: "Balochistan Border Serves as Smugglers Haven"]

[Text] Quetta, April 3: There has been thriving smuggling trade between Pakistan and Iran through Balochistan border, to the detriment of the economy of the two ECO [Economic Cooperation Organization] countries. Edible oil and sugar are mainly entering Iran from Pakistan borders against jeeps, motorbikes their spare parts, pharmaceuticals, detergents, petrol, petroleum products, chickpeas, shoes and liquid petroleum gas (LPG).

These facts and figures have come to light through an economic survey on Pak-Iran trade. The survey shows that there could be five fold increase in Pak-Iran trade if corrective steps are adopted.

Iran already confronted with the lack of foreign exchange reserves and a commercial debt of U.S. \$30 billion has come out with corrective steps to expand its trade with Pakistan and other Muslim countries. Iran has decided on elimination of its three tier exchange rate system for

a unified rate for all business. It aims at ending unnecessary confusion for traders and investors.

As against this Iranian traders are faced with a real problem for the confirmation of Iranian LCS in Pakistan. Survey suggests creation of mutual clearing system between Pakistan and Iran on the same pattern of Russian rouble and Indian rupee working so well for expediting cross border trade between India and Russia.

Moreover, there should be more organised barter system between Pakistan and Iran expanding trade between two ECO countries. Unless this is done, India which is already aggressively pushing to expand its trade with Iran, would capture Iranian market.

Moreover, substantial section of Pakistan traders are pursuing the policy of hit and run with their Iranian counterparts to get rich overnight. Several Pakistani traders are not adhering to the export products of same quality as that of the samples. The latest example is that of rice export to Iran from Pakistan which tarnished Pakistani traders image in Iran.

The survey concludes that both Pakistan and Iran have highly educated and motivated work force including women capable of playing an effective and efficient role for the promotion of trade and commerce between these two ECO countries. This driving force should be properly motivated and marshalled for making best use of the economic policies of the two Muslim nations by the leaderships of the two countries.

Internal Affairs

Politicians Accused of Being on U.S. Payroll

93AS0794D Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 8 Apr 93 p 7

[News Report: "Qazi Hussain Ahmad: 'Pakistan's Policy Makers Are Paid Agents of the United States; Our Advice on the IMF Agreement Was Rejected; the Terms of Such Agreements Are Always Detrimental to the Poor; The Policies Formulated Always Benefit the U. S. and Its Allies;' Speech to the Farmers' Rally at Rana Village."]

[Text] Wazirabad (JASARAT Correspondent): Qazi Hussain Ahmad, leader of the Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan said that American agents in Pakistan were in charge of policy making and they were being paid for their services; every policy formulated benefitted the United States and its allies. He was speaking to a peasants' rally held recently at Rana in the flood stricken area of Bela in Wazirabad; the rally was chaired by Abeer Al Rahman Madani, the district chief of Jamaat-i-Islami [JI]. Qazi Hussain Ahmad said that they [his party] had advised the government to implement a program for aiding agriculture but Nawaz Sharif had rejected the proposal saying that his government was adhering to its agreements with the United States and the IMF. Hussain Ahmad said that the terms offered by the United States and IMF were always injurious to the poor. He said that

JI did not have in its possession taxes collected from the people but it had money entrusted to the party by the rich and compassionate and, as a conscientious trustee, the party distributed the funds among the poor and deserving; this role was illustrated in Wazirabad district where the party paid 194 families in 23 villages the expenses incurred in producing wheat on 460 acres; the aid money covered all the expenses incurred from the start of cultivation until the harvesting of the crop; each family would have at least 6000 rupees of additional income and the wheat produced would benefit the national economy. He said that starting next season, JI would lend interest free money to deserving cultivators which they would repay after the sale of the crop; that JI's ideology was to improve the economic condition of the people as well as that of the nation; that JI members would continue to be active as long as possible and would continue to confront corrupt and dishonest officials, ministers and governments until all national resources came under the control of honest and virtuous individuals; that in reality, the accomplishment of all tasks lay within the power of the people themselves; they should send good delegates to the assemblies who would solve the problems of the people. Abdul Ghaffur Bhatti, an expert in agriculture, said that instead of spending billions of rupees on purchasing wheat from other countries, cultivators should be helped; that wheat was bought at high prices from outside when cultivators could produce more wheat at home. Local leader Khadum Hussain said that in order to solve the problems of cultivators and bring about improvement in agriculture, the government should follow JI's practicable formula. He said that a government which could not control its own administrative machinery could not be expected to solve the problems of the ordinary citizen. Sheikh Mohammad Anwar Zubeiri and Maulana Abeer Al Rahman Madani also addressed the rally.

Northern Areas Council Demands Constitutional Rights

93AS0777F Karachi DAWN in English 13 Apr 93 p 16

[Article: "Independent Setup for Northern Areas Demanded"; boldface words as published]

[Text] Islamabad, April 2: Over 50 Pakistani and Kashmiri, political parties and groups on Friday demanded an independent administrative set up for the Northern region, which they said was a part of the Kashmir state.

"As a first step, the Northern Areas (of Pakistan) be given representation in Kashmir Council," a resolution adopted at the end of All Parties Conference [APC] said.

The conference was convened by Kashmir Liberation Front [KLF] President Barrister Sultan Mahmood to achieve a consensus among the political parties over the status of Northern Areas.

Important among those who attended the conference include Azad Kashmir President Sardar Sikander Hayat, Azad Kashmir Prime Minister Sardar Abdul Qayyum,

Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front [JKLF] Chairman Amanullah Khan, Azad Kashmir Jamaat-i-Islami, PML [Pakistan Muslim League] President Malik Qasim, Tehrik-i-Istiqlal leader Syed Zafar Ali Shah, PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] Finance Secretary Kabir Ali Wasti, PDP [Pakistan Democratic Party] Secretary General Ershad Chaudhry besides representatives of Northern Areas Council and other representatives of parties.

The fundamental rights for the people of Northern Areas should be restored by accepting their legitimate constitutional and political rights, the resolution said.

The sparsely populated 72,500 square km Gilgit and Baltistan area bordering China has been directly ruled by Pakistan since late 1947 after a local revolt overthrew the governor of the the Kashmir ruler Maharaja Hari Singh.

The area has no representation in the Pakistani parliament nor do Pakistani courts have jurisdiction there.

Azad Kashmir has a separate government, a parliament, a high court and a supreme court with Pakistan responsible for defence and foreign affairs.

The High Court of Pakistan-controlled Kashmir ruled on March 8 that Northern Areas is not part of Pakistan and Islamabad must cede direct rule there.

Azad Kashmir Prime Minister Sardar Abdul Qayyum told the conference that historically these areas were part of the Himalayan Kashmir areas but said his government would go into appeal against the court decision on certain technical issues.

Azad Kashmir President Sardar Sikander Hayat hailed the high court decision and suggested that the people of these areas be given representation in Azad Kashmir's legislative assembly.

"If you want presidentship, I will be too happy to vacate my office," he said.

Resolution: The resolution, adopted by majority vote, called upon the government to set up a separate judiciary for the Northern Areas.

The resolution said that like Azad Kashmir, people of the Northern Areas had also liberated themselves by launching a movement against the then Dogra Maharaja Hari Singh of Kashmir and that they have yet to decide about their future.

It recalled that the Administrative control of these areas was handed over to Pakistan temporarily under an agreement signed in April 1949 between government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir and government of Pakistan.

It said a viable and practicable political and democratic structure be raised to give legislative powers to the people of the Northern Areas.

The political leaders also agreed to form a committee comprising representatives of Azad Kashmir, Northern

Areas and Pakistan to hold negotiations with the Pakistan President and the Prime Minister to seek rights for these areas.

"We will have to take cautious steps to safeguard the interests of all parties, Pakistan, Azad Kashmir and the people of Northern Areas," Hayat said.

Majority of the people representing Northern Areas demanded an independent status like that of Azad Kashmir with representation in Kashmir Council.

Barrister Sultan Mahmood said it was high time that the fundamental rights of people of Gilgit and Baltistan be restored immediately.

Rasool Mir, President of Tanzeem Jamaat Ahle Sunnat, Northern Areas said Northern Areas were part and parcel of Kashmir state and demanded that these areas be liked with Kashmir.

Rani of Hunza, however, opposed the idea and said the future of Northern Areas was linked with Pakistan.

President of Northern Areas Central High Court Bar Association, Sher Wali Khan also endorsed the idea of linking the areas with Azad Kashmir. Expressing his annoyance over the position took by Rani of Hunza, he said: "She has even not seen Hunza properly. She lives in Lahore permanently and is a self-styled representative of the people of Northern Areas. Who has given her this right to represent the people?"

Azad Kashmir Muslim League President Muhammad Hayat Khan said there was no doubt that the areas were part and parcel of Kashmir. He said the independent status of this area should be maintained so that whenever Kashmiris get a right to vote for determining their future, the people of Northern Areas be also given a fair chance.

Proposals: He said any attempt to make these areas as a new province of Pakistan would harm the Kashmir movement.

JKLF President Amanullah Khan proposed to divide Azad Kashmir into two administrative units one comprising the present liberated territory and the second comprising Northern Areas. He said the two provinces should have their own governors for running the affairs of their respective provinces.

He said a permanent bench of the Azad High Court be set up in Gilgit which should stay at least four months there.

Similarly, he said the president and prime ministership of Azad Kashmir should be divided between the two provinces.

But some political leaders belonging to Northern Areas objected to the idea of considering it as a part of Kashmir.

When the resolution was being read at the conclusion of the conference two members of the Tehrik Nifaz Fuqah Jafria including its President Ghulam Hussain Saleemi walked out from the conference saying the resolution was unacceptable to them.

PML Information Secretary Ali Ashraf also suggested that the offices of the president and the prime minister should be divided and that due representation should be given to the people of these areas in the Azad Kashmir cabinet.

The Northern Areas provide Pakistan land access to China along with the mountainous Karakoram Highway.

PPP Worker Said Disappointed With Bhutto's Decisions

93AS0856A Lahore ZINDGI in Urdu 24 Apr 93 p 13

[Article by Nasir Ahmad Salimi: "People's Party Workers' Condemnation Over Bhutto's Flipflop"]

[Text] The news of the dismissal of Nawaz Sharif's government and the dissolution of our National Assembly on 18 April caused a wave of absolute sorrow among the people in Karachi. Of course, sweetmeats were distributed after the presidential announcement at Iltaf Hussein's residence in Azizabad and similar scenes were also seen in other places as Pir Pagara's Kangri House, Benazir Bhutto's Bilawal House, and in Asif Zardari's election precinct of Liari, where people were seen celebrating. The majority of Karachi residents, however, expressed dissatisfaction at the president's announcement. The members of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] were happy at the end of Nawaz Sharif's government and were embarrassed about Benazir's declared cooperation with President Ishaq Khan. Some of them admitted that this political somersault by Benazir would hurt her party politically, and would put Nawaz Sharif in a better position to take political advantage of this move.

It was the first time in Pakistan's political history that traders and businessmen openly opposed the dismissal of a government and voluntarily went on strike. Mr. Aijaz Shafih, president of Karachi Site Association of Industry, resigned from his position in protest of this action. Tahir Khaliq, president of Karachi's Chamber of Industry and Commerce; Zikria Fazil, senior vice president of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce; Qutub-ul Din, vice president of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce; Mr. Rana, representative of the Gujurati Brotherhood; Bashir Mohammed, former president of the Karachi Stock Exchange; Mr. Yusuf, former president of the Federal Chamber of Industry and Commerce; prominent industrialist Harun-ul Rashid; and Ghulam Ahmed Ismail, former chairman of the Pakistan Cloth Association, expressed serious reactions to the dismissal of the elected government, condemning it in strong words. City dwellers declared that this action was a conspiracy among landlords to keep the country backward.

The president's actions affected business and trade centers most. It was quiet there. The local stock exchange experienced its worst crisis. According to a conservative estimate, about 9 billion rupees were lost. Those with foreign currency accounts were also worried. It appears that the presidential election and the president's plan to make Nawaz Sharif's government the scapegoat for economic policies have pushed our economy into a serious crisis. Thus, while the president's words were still echoing, the finance minister of the caretaker government had to explain that schemes such as foreign currency accounts, "Pelo Cab," and the motorway, which were included in the Nawaz Sharif financial plans, will be continued. After the government spokesman's announcement, there does not seem to be much substance left in the presidential accusation against the economic policies of Nawaz Sharif's government's.

The veteran politician Sardar Sherbaz Mazari used to be considered one of the top critics of the Nawaz Sharif government; however, he also declared President Ghulam Ishaq Khan's action an embarrassing spectacle for our nation. Mr. Mazari expressed surprise at Benazir Bhutto's support for the president's undemocratic action, saying that he could not understand her at all. The caretaker prime minister, Balakh Sher Mazari, is Sardar Sherbaz Mazari's elder brother, and Sherbaz says that his political and ideological differences with Balakh Sher are not hidden from anyone.

Legal experts were also shocked at the presidential action. Rajah Haq Nawaz Advocate, vice chairman of the Pakistan Bar Council, said that the president's action hurt the nation seriously. He declared that this action was just to appease the United States of America. Rajah Haq also criticized the presidential rights included in the 8th Amendment, and said that the amendment made the president an autocrat, and the elected prime minister "a body part that can be dissected at any time."

Another prominent legal mind, Mr. Hashmat Zeb Advocate, also criticized the president's action, saying that the accusations levied by Nawaz Sharif against the president in his statement to the nation and in the president's house were enough reason to dismiss the president.

Opposition Urged To 'Launch Joint Struggle' on Elections

BK2905104593 Karachi DAWN in English 29 May 93 p 1

["Bureau Report"]

[Text] Lahore, May 28—NDA [National Democratic Alliance] Chairman Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan has urged all opposition parties to launch a joint struggle to force the government to hold fresh elections.

Talking to DAWN on Friday he said he was establishing contacts with all the parties to coordinate their efforts to achieve the desired results within the shortest possible time.

In his opinion if the provincial governments did not extend cooperation, the Federal government would not be able to survive for long and it would have to bow before the national demand.

The Nawabzada said it would be a healthy convention if the provincial governments did not allow the Centre to interfere in their affairs. To contain a "Fascist rule", he said they should try to preserve their provincial autonomy and condemn the alleged horse trading being carried out by the Centre to dislodge the Punjab government.

The NDA Chairman said unless the ruling party accepted in principle that the present assemblies were the product of "massive rigging" and initiated a dialogue with the opposition, the situation would not improve.

He criticised the policy being pursued by the electronic media after the reinstatement of the government. The TV, he pointed out had blacked out the provincial governments and the opposition parties. "This is sufficient to show how democratic attitude they have towards their rivals."

He, however, was appreciative of the liberal policy pursued by the caretaker government during its brief rule. The caretakers he said, started new TV programmes and gave reasonable coverage even to the opponents.

The situation, he said, reflected that the Federal government did not want to bring an end to the confrontation. He warned that confrontation would promote instability in the country.

Sharif's Reinstatement Brings 'New Democratic Era'

BK3005101193 Islamabad THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 30 May 93 p 6

[Editorial: "A new beginning"]

[Text] After getting a vote of confidence on Thursday from 123 members of the National Assembly out of the house of 202, with none voting against the motion tabled by the Federal Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif addressed the nation over radio and television on Friday. Referring to the historic restoration of his constitutional government, he said the judicial system in Pakistan had established that it was powerful enough to thwart any attempt to create a political crisis through constitutional subversion. The Prime Minister pledged that he would take solid steps to cleanse national politics of hypocrites and opportunists and his government would move at a fast pace to bring about self-reliance, an agricultural and industrial revolution and nurture democratic culture in the country. He said he had returned "with a clean heart" without any complaint or grief.

It was the first time that the entire country rose in protest against the dissolution of the National

Assembly. Even the newspapers critical of the Government of Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif wrote strongly in his favour. Everyone felt that the dissolution amounted to thwarting the democratic process in the country and retarding the pace of its progress. The revolutionary steps taken by the government were brought to a grinding halt on April 18 by an order which has now been declared by the Supreme Court to have "been passed without lawful authority" and was "of no legal affect." As the Prime Minister said in his address, the five-week crisis created by that order caused enormous economic loss to the country which saddened him greatly but he was more upset by the loss of credibility in the eyes of foreign investors. However, he expressed his determination to speedily recover the loss and make a new beginning with the conviction that he would succeed in diverting the investments towards the motherland again.

A significant part of the Prime Minister's address pertained to Government-Opposition relations. As he had said in a Press conference soon after the Supreme Court verdict that "I am extending my hand of cooperation to all the political forces with all my sincerity so that Paksitan should be put on the path of development and all the irritants in the system are removed as early as possible," he reiterated similar views in his radio/TV address. Admitting that his relations with the Opposition had not been enviable in the past, he said now there were no impediments in establishing good relations with it and he would make earnest efforts towards that end. He said he would endeavour to establish a democratic polity which would run on the basis of principles, ideologies and ideas rather than revenge, accusations and character assassinations. It is hoped that the Opposition would respond positively to the sentiments expressed by the Prime Ministers so that democracy which has remained under stress in our country can flourish and take firm roots in the soil. In a democratic order the Opposition is a part of the system and has to cooperate with the party in power in order to strengthen the system. Any confrontation between the two sides can only go to harm the interests of the country which no patriotic person could ever wish. With a clear verdict from the highest seat of judicature in the country, Pakistan has entered a new democratic era and the political crisis which was created in the country during the past five weeks would never recur. With the faith of the people revived in democracy, let no one try to shake it.

Editorial Advocates Khan's Impeachment

BK3105132393 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 31 May 93 p 1

[Editorial: "Countrymen, time to think in terms of impeachment"]

[Text] Enough is enough. Those who had hoped, as we did, that Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan would be at least a chastened President after the Supreme Court verdict of

May 26 must be wringing their hands in dismay. Let there be no mistake about the status of Mr Khan after the historic day when the Supreme Court found him guilty of having acted unlawfully in dissolving the country's sovereign law-making body and its government established by law. Not only that. The Supreme Court found that Mr Ishaq Khan went beyond the "ambit of the powers conferred on him under Article 58(2) (b) of the Constitution and other enabling powers available to him in that behalf." For all practical purposes the Supreme Court convicted Mr Ishaq Khan of having unlawfully destroyed two institutions of the state of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan: The National Assembly and the national government. If this does not amount to deliberate, subversion of the Constitution what does? We maintain that Mr Ghulam Ishaq, who continues to occupy the seat of the President, should have laid down his office the moment he came to learn that the Supreme court had found him guilty of acting unlawfully. By wrongfully retaining the highest office in the land he is only exposing the office to ridicule and contempt. The nation finds this situation unacceptable.

Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan greeted the verdict of the Supreme Court by reciting a Persian verse which was like a taunt hurled straight in the face of the highest court of law in the republic. His insinuation that he was the keeper of a great many varieties of wines alerted the people to the possibility that they may have to swallow some more rancid and bitter stuff than hitherto served by the President.

Between May 26 and the moment of our writing this piece, Mr Ishaq Khan has masterminded a number of moves behind the back of the legally elected government. He has instigated what amounts to political treachery in different parts of the country. His stamp is unmistakable on the disgraceful events in Punjab, culminating in the dissolution of the provincial assembly. And this took place, typically, at around midnight. Quite like the fell deed which he struck at the existence of the National Assembly and the federal government. And then, the fatal assault on the provincial assembly in the NWFP [Northwest Frontier Province]. How vile this act is would be evident from the fact that on the night of May 29, the Chief Minister of NWFP inducted eight new ministers to his already bloated cabinet and at dawn on May 30, the provincial assembly went by the board. What was the purpose of this Act of madness?

Enlightened citizens must realise that Mr Ishaq Khan's lust for power at any price has brought the country face to face with what looks very much like the grimmest political crisis in its history. Quite clearly, he is now conspiring to create conditions in which he can, in his "wisdom", declare that Pakistan is no longer governable and a state of emergency must be imposed on the country. This simply means he is hell bent upon subverting the democratic order. That he should try to do that just when democracy has scored its most convincing

triumph only makes Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan's game plan totally condemnable. And it must be resisted by all decent citizens.

This is no time for party politics. The present President, who has forfeited all legal and moral claim to that office must be ousted by the joint efforts of the government and the Opposition. When the nation faces such a dire threat to its statehood, there should be total unity to combat the lethal threat. Let us not forget that President Richard Nixon was ousted for what would look like a minor crime of petty larceny. Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan has been proved to be guilty of acting unlawfully in a bid to subvert the state and the Constitution. If at this moment Ms Benazir Bhutto fails to rise and join the fight against a monstrous conspiracy, the nation will never forgive her. Not fighting a grave peril is tantamount to inviting it; not fighting high treason is to be privy to it. Ms Benazir Bhutto and her People's Party, no less than Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan, stand warned.

The nation can no longer tolerate mischief stalking the land on stilts. The very foundations of the state are under assault by one man. To Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan self perpetuation means more than the peace and happiness of the people. The manner in which he inveigled scores of Members of National Assembly into handing him over their fraudulent resignations was characterised by one Honourable judge of the Supreme Court as "immoral." But nothing is going to deter the man on the hill of rolling down boulder after boulder on the hapless folks below. Mr Ishaq Khan has left the people no room for tolerance or accommodation. He has placed himself above the Constitution and the State. The Supreme Court verdict is there. Now his tentacles are wringing the necks of the remaining democratic institutions in the country. The stage is arrived when the person with the record of Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan should be impeached by the Parliament.

The National Assembly is due to meet this morning. Item. No. 1 on its agenda should be the impeachment of Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan who has been found guilty and convicted of misusing his power the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Instead of repenting he has gone on a devastating spree. Nothing is safe any longer in the hands of Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan. The security of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is in grave jeopardy. This danger must be eliminated without delay. Let the National Assembly deal with this problem here and now. Tomorrow may be too late because Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan is on the rampage.

President Khan Said To Promise Release of MQM Prisoners

93AS0778A Lahore *THE NATION* in English
5 Apr 93 p 14

[Text] Karachi-President Ghulam Ishaq Khan has promised to help release MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] workers arrested during the operation clean-up and most

of the workers would be released before by-elections in the province, a highly placed MQM source told THE NATION on Sunday.

Meanwhile, it was learned that the final list of MQM (Altaf) backed candidates will be announced on April 10 when it is finally approved by Altaf Hussain. Already the names of candidates approved by the Coordination Committee of these candidates were sent to Altaf Hussain who approved the names asking the committee to file nominations of these candidates. In each constituency about four persons were approved by Altaf Hussain for filing their papers initially and now after scrutiny of the nomination papers, the final list of the official candidates will be approved by Altaf Hussain, a well-informed source close to Coordination Committee said on Sunday. The source said that 80 per cent of the women voters still back MQM (Altaf) and the vote bank of the organisation was more or less intact. April 11 is the last day for withdrawal of nomination papers.

Meanwhile, the Chief Minister of Sindh during the last three days, has withdrawn his open support to MQM(H), he claimed because President of Pakistan has backed Altaf Hussain as the only party which can salvage Sindh from present turmoil and political uncertainty. So far as Haqis are concerned, they have lost support of the people, he claimed because people still are not convinced of their bona fides. However, the elections, if held, will overwhelmingly return candidates backed by Coordination Committee appointed by Altaf Hussain.

He said the main bone of contention between Altaf Hussain and Azim Ahmad Tariq, who is still the Chairman of the organisation, is the question of releasing Rs [Rupees] 25 crores which he is not willing to surrender. There have been reports and allegations that Azim Ahmad Tariq has appropriated major part of this fund for his personal expenses which he has already denied.

About Jamaat-i-Islami, ANP [Awami National Party] and JUI [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam] boycott of the by-elections, this source said that Jammat is trying to recover its lost prestige and has already taken a stand on some of the matters like operation clean-up in Urban Sindh and espousing the cause of Mohajirs. Jamaat-i-Islami may offer indirect support to MQM(A) though it will remain in the background. Its workers may be asked to help MQM(A) in the by-elections which are very vital. A final decision is expected to be taken by Jama'at Shoora. The source, however, said that the lists of workers said to be released by MQM Chairman Azim Ahmad Tariq and their subsequent release is nothing but a propaganda stunt.

He disclosed that the candidates selected for various seats of the Provincial and the National Assemblies have been finalised through recommendations of sector and unit incharges of the MQM(A) but return of Altaf Hussain is linked with conditions whether the cases now filed against him are withdrawn or not.

Hyderabad By-Election Seen Crucial for MQM

93AS0776B Karachi HERALD in English
15 Apr 93 pp 50-51

[Article by Ali Hassan: "Down But Not Out"]

[Text] The MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] is not about to leave the field open to its opponents in the volatile but crucial Hyderabad constituencies...

As the urban population of Sindh goes to the polls for the third time in four years, the wisdom behind the en bloc resignations of sitting MQM MNAs [Member of National Assembly] and MPAs [Member of Provincial Assembly] is being widely questioned by voters in Hyderabad. As a result of this decision, two National Assembly and four provincial seats are currently up for grabs in the city.

Meanwhile, the MQM is not about to leave the field open to its opponents and is putting up at least three candidates from each seat in Hyderabad—although it is yet to release a final list of names.

The Hyderabad city seats are also being contested by candidates from a cross section of various political parties, as well as by some independents. Among those in the fray are the Mohajir Rabita Council, Mohajir Ittehad Tehreek, Muslim League, Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan [JUP], Jamaat-i-Islami and the independents. All these parties and individuals were roundly defeated by the MQM by a sizeable margin in both 1988 and 1990.

For obvious reasons, the Haqiqi faction has not been able to field prominent candidates for the Hyderabad contests, given that this is a city where the dissidents have no real base. Shabbir Hashmi, their local organiser, has filed papers on both a national and a provincial seat but has little chance of success.

This, however, does not mean that every candidate nominated by the Altaf group will be acceptable to the voters as there is strong resistance to the Haq Parasts who won the elections in 1988 and 1990. "This is so because everyone has a story to tell about the behaviour, character, and performance of their particular elected representative," says a Hyderabad resident. At the same time, most supporters do not go so far as to blame Altaf Hussain for his choice of candidates. All they hope for is that their absentee 'pir' realises his past follies which provoked the army crackdown in Sindh.

The people, in general, seem disillusioned with the electioneering process. But they are willing to undertake the exercise if only to prove that the operation clean-up was not even-handed. "The operation forced the party to lie low for a long time but the by-elections are likely to revive and reawaken them so that they may learn from their past mistakes," says one former MQM supporter.

The city's mohajir population widely believes that the army operation was launched with the calculated aim of crushing the MQM and dividing it so that its strength

was dissipated. "The MQM was the collective bargaining agent of the mohajirs and instead of sharing the power and the fruits of democracy with it, an operation was launched against it," complains a pro-MQM bureaucrat.

It is for this reason that diehard supporters of the mohajir cause support the MQM's decision to participate in the elections. Already, campaign slogans are geared towards igniting the emotions of the mohajir community by reviving the image of ethnic persecution. The MQM's mohajir opponents, however, are convinced that the organisation has lost its touch. "The mohajirs are unsure about their future and are in a state of shock after the collapse of the MQM. Therefore, there is not much political activity, even though nomination papers have been filed," says Munawar Pirzada, a JUP supporter.

Anti-MQM candidates who are contesting the elections remain unsure about the outcome but want to play the mohajir card nevertheless. Their justification for this is that, "this may be the last opportunity." They refuse, however, to elaborate on what that apocalyptic statement really means. Former Hyderabad mayor, Maulana Wasi Mazhar Nadvi, who lacks resources as well as a dedicated team of workers, confessed in a public gathering that, "I doubt that free and fair elections are going to be held. Only time will tell whether it is to be an election or a selection." The maulana has filed nomination papers for two National Assembly seats. He concedes that the mohajirs are discriminated against but is at a loss to offer any workable solution.

In terms of election issues, the leaders of the various parties seem to offer solutions that are limited in perspective and short-term in duration. Most of them seem interested only in immediate gains, like providing quick relief to the people through development projects that are not sustainable. None of the other parties other than the MQM is organised and none of them enjoy much support. The Jamaat-Islami, although an exception, has decided to boycott the by-election altogether.

Among those in the fray are the JUP's Shah Fareedul Haq, who contested the elections in 1990 on a National Assembly seat from the city and bagged over 13,000 votes. However, the Karachi-based candidate has developed a reputation of being just a casual visitor to the city. "When given a chance, Fareedul Haq did nothing to improve the lot of his constituents," says one former JUP supporter.

Syed Ahad Yousuf, who has been inducted no less than seven times as a minister in various cabinets and is a former mayor of Hyderabad, is also contesting for a provincial assembly seat. During his ministership, several development schemes in the education and health sector were initiated in the city. But he is seen as a man with too many irons in the fire and with no particular commitment to the city.

Nawab Rashid, who held a ministerial post during 1985-88, also claims to have served the city but has

altogether failed to organise his group. Another National Assembly candidate, Nawab Muhammad Yameen Khan, was elected in 1985 but he has since shifted to Karachi, a factor that does not go down well in a city that already feels betrayed and neglected.

The MQM is seen as the first and only political party in 40 years to rally such a large number of people around itself by claiming to espouse their cause and address their problems. But as recent events have proved, the MQM did not serve the people as much as it served its own interests. However, it is clear that none of the anti-MQM candidates stand a chance of winning the elections in Hyderabad without the active support of other groups and parties. Only the MQM dares contest the seats on its own and still hope to win.

Although the MQM stands a good chance of winning by default because its opponents either lack credibility or are hopelessly divided, it cannot afford to be complacent in the 1993 by-elections. The MQM's "vote machine" is now out of order, as dedicated workers prefer to remain underground for fear of arrest. They are no longer in a position to apply strong-arm tactics to get votes by keeping the administration or the police on their side. Clearly, the parties involved will have to concentrate on luring increasingly wary voters out of their homes to cast their votes—a daunting task for anyone in these volatile but crucial Hyderabad constituencies."

Sindh By-Elections Seen Important for MQM Future

*93AS0776A Karachi HERALD in English
15 Apr 93 pp 43-46*

[Article by Idrees Bakhtiar: "The Final Verdict"]

[Text] The forthcoming by-elections in urban Sindh may provide answers to a whole range of questions: how will voters judge the various MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] factions? Will the Altaf group be able to repeat the phenomenal success of the past? And is there any likelihood of Altaf Hussain returning to this country should his candidates sweep the polls?

The forthcoming by-elections in Sindh will see the emergence of an organisation radically different from the brazenly confident MQM of the past. The party as it now exists is a toothless tiger—thoroughly subdued, with its top leadership scattered and its workers divided into myriad factions.

The Altaf faction of the MQM can still lay claim to some of the urban seats in the province. However, this time it does not appear to be in a position to make a clean sweep. For all intents and purposes, some key seats already belong to the dissident group, the Haqiqis. The remaining seats, meanwhile, are being contested by a wide array of other political parties who see in this mini-election a possibility of returning to what has been inhospitable political territory since 1986.

The presence of the Haqiqis has drastically altered the nature of this contest and chances are that the outcome will reflect this new reality. The dissidents have established themselves as a totally separate entity, ironically presenting the most united front, while the other MQM factions—Altaf Hussain's Rabita Committee and the Azim Tariq loyalists—remain in a state of disarray. But although the Haqiqis claim to have the upper hand over the MQM, they appeal to a completely different set of voters—those who are thoroughly disillusioned with Altaf Hussain and his brand of muscle-power politics. Their performance at the polls will serve as a sensitive barometer with which the Altaf group may gauge the mood of the voters.

It is generally believed that it was precisely due to the overwhelming majority enjoyed by the MQM, even if bolstered through the barrel of a gun, that the situation in the urban areas worsened. It seems highly unlikely that the party will be allowed a free hand to regain a stranglehold on the urban areas in this latest battle for Sindh. "The urban political scene will never be the same again," says a former councillor from Karachi. "That kind of scenario is not acceptable to the powers that be. A single party, representing the whole of the urban area, with almost one third of the provincial seats in its pocket, does not sit well in their scheme of things, especially when it involves a militant party such as the MQM," he adds. The elections, the same source insists, have been engineered to deny the MQM its former status of sole representative of the urban areas of the province.

Which way will the vast silent majority of former MQM supporters, who have witnessed a massive army clamp-down on their party, go on May 2 and 5? And how large will the sympathy vote for the MQM be in these elections? There is reason to believe that the battered urban electorate is going to give this aspect serious consideration in the days to come.

The MQM is no longer going to the people as a tyrannical fascist organisation. Although it is no longer in a position to employ the strong-arm tactics of old, its image has, in a sense, improved since the army operation was launched. "The people who handled the operation proved to be completely inept. The organisation which was feared by the people and hated by its victims, including a large number of its own cadre, has gradually gained sympathy as the oppressed party. The hatred felt against it has subsided to a large extent, only because of the high-handed tactics adopted by the law enforcing agencies," says a mohajir intellectual.

Ironically enough, it is the law enforcing agencies themselves that have now rebuilt the organisation from scratch. Apart from supporting the Haqiqis, who were earlier hunted and victimised by the MQM and only surfaced under the safe cover of the army operation, the MQM's two other factions are also supported by one or the other agency. There is now sufficient evidence to believe that Azim Tariz, the 'suspended' chairman, was propped up and controlled by the Military Intelligence.

Similarly, the Altaf group, led by the elderly Senator Ishtiaq Azhar, is also not entirely free from official patronage.

Before jumping into the fray of the election, Senator Ishtiaq Azhar made a lightning trip to London to seek Altaf Hussain's blessing for his own candidature as well as to take on the responsibility of steering the party out of troubled waters. It was during this visit that the Rabita (or coordination) Committee was formed. But before embarking on his trip to London, Ishtiaq Azhar also met President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Sources close to the senator say that the president assured him of his full support. Sources close to his faction say that Sindh Chief Minister Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah also phoned Azhar on two occasions to assure him that the Sindh government would not side with any single group.

The MQM has witnessed a great deal of infighting since its chairman, Azim Tariq, emerged from hiding. While its leaders were underground, the party seemed to form a solid, united block, except for those members who had publicly switched over to the Haqiqis. With the sudden announcement of Altaf Hussain's return to what is being termed "remote-control politics," and Azim Tariq's subsequent removal from the scene, voters now face the formidable problem of trying to figure out who to vote for.

The prevailing view among these two factions is that despite the announcement of his retirement, Altaf Hussain still wants to retain substantial control over the party. But Azim Tariz, quite understandably, wanted to run the party according to how he himself saw fit. "Since he was closer to the situation on the ground, he naturally felt that he was in a better position to steer the party in the desired direction," says one of Azim Tariq's close aides. However, this state of affairs clearly did not meet with Altaf's approval.

It is now also clear that the army had sent a message through former major Farooq Sattar to Azim Tariq in which it laid down a condition: if Altaf Hussain were to retire, all arrested party workers would be released. Altaf Hussain now accuses Azim Tariq of failing to obtain the release of all party workers as promised, and of having the cases filed against himself dropped.

Insiders, however, reveal that as far as Altaf is concerned, the release of the rank and file workers has never been his primary concern. He is, in fact, anxious to have the pressure eased on trusted senior leaders such as Salim Shahzad and Imran Farooq, who are not only on the wanted list but also carry a bounty on their heads.

To make matters worse, a public row also erupted at around this time between the Altaf and Azim Tariq factions over the distribution of funds. The MQM's accounts, the contents of which have never been made public, were being operated by Azim Tariq and S. M. Tariq. Altaf reportedly required a portion of the funds to be transferred to him in London. Azim Tariq refused to comply, and information was leaked in which it was

revealed that Altaf had taken a whooping two crore rupees with him to London. This was subsequently denied by Azim Tariq's close aides.

It was after he had decided that Tariq had failed to deliver on all or most of the desired objectives that Altaf Hussain formed the Rabita Committee—comprising a group of 'senior' mohajir politicians and 'elder statesmen and women'—just days before the schedule of the by-election was announced. Initially, it appeared that Azim Tariq would not accept the dictates of the Committee. "None of the members of this committee is a frontline leader of the MQM," he said. After some time, however, he suspended whatever was left of his own central committee and allowed the Rabita Committee to do all the legwork for the by-election.

Although Azim Tariq has not yet handed over the MQM's funds to the Rabita committee, sources say that he is in fact cooperating with it. THE HERALD has learned that the voters' list, obtained by the Azim Tariq faction, has been handed over to the Rabita Committee, a step that has gone in favour of the Committee and its nominees. "If this had not happened, the MQM votes would have been split in three directions," one source says. The MQM vote was now sure to go to either the Haqiqis or the Altaf group, he adds.

The Rabita Committee, meanwhile, does not enjoy the support of the underground workers and hardcore activists of the Altaf group and they appear unwilling to extend their wholehearted support. "They are suspicious of the people who run the Committee," says a source. Insiders insist that if these important underground elements do not endorse the Rabita Committee, the chances of it effectively mobilising the voters would become even more remote. The risk of coming out in the open during the campaign is also serving as a deterrent for many of the workers who fear harassment and even arrest.

The Rabita Committee candidates, observers believe, stand a far better chance if Altaf himself announces his support to them. Otherwise, it seems likely that the hardcore workers will only support candidates of their own choice.

As soon as the Rabita Committee decided to take part in the elections, former mayor Farooq Sattar was seen once again at nine-zero, the Azizabad headquarters of the MQM. "I had gone with Azim Tariq on the instructions of Altaf Hussain," he said explaining his presence. "And I came to Azizabad with his blessings," he added. A few others, like former minister M. A. Jaleel and former MPA [Member of Provincial Assembly] Shoaib Bukhari, also followed suit. Meanwhile, a handful of MQM stalwarts such as former MPA Haji Shafiq have pledged their allegiance to Azim Tariq.

Given the renewed surge of activity at nine-zero and the fact that the Rabita Committee seems to be openly operating from this once notorious venue, it was expected that the Committee would also simultaneously

set the stage for the return of Altaf Hussain. But it seems to have other plans of its own. "We have stopped him from returning," claims Ishtiaq Azhar.

This stand has fuelled a great deal of speculation. Perhaps Altaf Hussain was never interested in coming back. He clearly dreads the large number of cases filed against him for alleged involvement in torture and other heinous crimes.

On the other hand, sources within the Rabita Committee admit that some of its own members are not particularly interested in Altaf's return, possibly because they are now enjoying the fruits of power which were denied them during Altaf's autocratic rule. "These leaders do not have any contact with the people, nor do they possess Altaf's charisma," says a senior party leader at nine-zero. What makes matters worse is that none of the Rabita Committee members have any experience of active politics. If a buzz of activity can be discerned once again at nine-zero, it is only because of the hectic electioneering that is taking place and not due to the personal magnetism of any of the members of the committee.

Some MQM leaders go even further in casting aspersions on the competence of the Committee. They fear that the Rabita Committee may in fact prove to be the final nail in the MQM's coffin. It is suspected in some quarters that once the elections are over, the Rabita Committee will fritter away whatever support the MQM had mustered and that, in less than a year, the MQM would be doomed.

These leaders also agree that Altaf Hussain's return would only be feasible if the cases against him are dropped. This, of course, can only be done if the establishment is amenable to the idea. The other possibility is that the Altaf faction gains a thumping majority, as a result of which its members can once again exert their influence in the national and provincial assemblies. However, this seems to be an exceedingly remote possibility. It can be safely predicted that this time round, the number of MQM seats will be smaller than in 1988 and 1990.

Since the elections are being held as a consequence of the army operation, its results will provide the party with the ideal opportunity to assess its own staying power. The support the voters give to, or withdraw from, the MQM will be a perfect indicator of how effective the army operation has been in tarnishing the party's image in the voters' eyes.

The army operation, for all its interrogation camps, has still not been able to prove even a single case against any MQM activists. This has led to a widespread feeling that either the cases were very badly prepared, or there was no substance to them in the first place.

If the elections are held in a free and fair manner, the authorities would do well to reassess their performance and chalk out a plan in the light of the results. If the MQM gets a majority of the seats, it will be a verdict

against the crackdown on the party. In that case, the most sensible course would be to wind up the operation from Sindh's urban centres.

Further Violence Forecast in Sindh

93AS0793L Lahore *THE NATION* in English
16 Apr 93 p 8

[Article by Sarmad Bashir: "Sindh Imbroglio"]

[Text] With the by-elections to 11 National Assembly and 19 provincial Assembly seats of Sindh just round the corner, Karachi was rocked by a series of explosions on Saturday triggering fears of a strong backlash of pre-operation unrest in the province.

Those who have been closely observing the political pattern of Sindh since the Army was called out and who understand that the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] (Haqiqi), the Army's brainchild, has failed to build up its image as Muhajirs' protectors see the re-emergence of the Altaf Group as a much stronger force than it had been in the past.

The 10-month-long Army operation seemed to have brought back peace and tranquillity in the urban and rural part of the strife-torn province, but Saturday's incident and the similar ones over the past few weeks, though of lesser gravity, raise apprehensions about more dreadful days ahead.

The elections for these seats, which fell vacant in June last after the resignations of MQM legislators following a massive crackdown and a large-scale arrests of MQM workers, had been delayed on the pretext that the law and order situation was not conducive to fill the lingering gap in the political representation of Sindh.

It was only after the Sindh High Court's verdict in January that the Election Commission announced May 2 and 5 for holding by-elections for the vacant seats of the National and provincial legislatures. The announcement of the election schedule resulted in accelerated political activity and consultation among various political forces.

This also activated the real forces that matter in the country's power set-up to sit down and figure out strategies for making the election results favourable for their respective lobbies. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan seems more keen in the early completion of the elected House for his re-election as these constitute the electoral college of the Presidential elections.

The fragile coalition of Sindh headed by Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah is most concerned about the situation and it has a reason to be, as these by-elections are to affect the present provincial government directly. Shah's primary concern is to stave off the victory of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] members in the Sindh Assembly, as it could upset the entire provincial political set-up.

For Shah re-emergence of the MQM Altaf Group might not be much hazardous for his government, for Altaf has

long been a coalition partner of his leadership in the Muslim League, but the Army, on the other hand, doesn't afford any situation where the Pir of Azizabad, since he retired from practical politics, strikes back again.

For the Army, the comeback of Altaf Hussain on the political scene of Sindh would not only spoil its reputation but could also lead to the devastating backlash of the pre-operation period when the two major cities of Sindh—Karachi and Hyderabad—were virtually controlled by the uncrowned King of Muhajirs.

There has been a strong feeling among the Army topbrass that they were performing their foremost duty to smash the MQM strongholds and to clear off the mess that had been created by the late President Zia to counter the political forces that he was afraid would weaken his rule.

Over the years the Muhajir Qaumi Movement became a real fascist force with the constant and unabated supply of sophisticated weapons during the decade-long Afghan war and the inclusion of trained terrorists in its cadres at one stage made the MQM uncontrollable for its creators.

Apart from the Army's own lapses that had hindered restoration of normalcy in the predominantly MQM strongholds of Karachi and Hyderabad, what really disturbed its bosses was that the ruling party had given enough time to the MQM workers to dump their ammunition and to hide themselves at safe places.

To break the strong intelligence network of the MQM terrorists which was rather more effective than its own, the Army had to hire the services of some of Altaf's friends. But it was bit unfortunate that despite full-fledged backing to Amir and Affaq, the Army couldn't make Haqiqi group a force to reckon with.

Whether it was failure on the part of the Army to counterbalance the Altaf factor by another strong Muhajir force and to capitalise on the political situation of Sindh in its favour, there are now visible signs of the re-emergence of the Altaf Group with the constituents fearing serious clashes between the two MQM factions if any attempt is made to stop Altaf Hussain from assuming a major role in the politics of urban Sindh.

Competition for Muslim League Leadership Termed 'Nothing New'

93AS0776F Lahore *THE FRIDAY TIMES* in English
7 Apr 93 p 9

[Article by Aziz Siddique: "The Handmaid's Tale"]

[Text] The Muslim League has often served as a convenient scaffolding for power-grabbers to set themselves upon. It has just as often, however, proved too hollow a structure to hold out for long. The spectacle is again in view. The party looks likely to splinter under the weight of the developing melee at the top.

The resigning ministers have clearly had a point, regardless of their own politics in making it. Mian Nawaz Sharif was in a bit of a hurry to have himself nominated to the PML [Pakistan Muslim League] succession. He couldn't postpone it till the dead president's body was cold in his grave, nor even till his return from abroad or till Eid was over. Indeed, according to Mr Nasir Chatha, he had his men in action almost immediately after the news of Mr Junejo's demise in the U.S. broke here. He wanted the nomination and the council voting done on one day, shortly after the burial. He didn't even want to give himself time to prepare the ground, to win over some more of the pliable members on the other side of the political divide.

The apparent objective was to pre-empt the Junejo group before it could collect its wits and get into the act. The surface tension between the President and the Prime Minister has made all involved parties jumpy. They tend to regard all issues in that light. Mr Nawaz Sharif's accession to the party presidency was obviously seen as adding too much weight to his side of the balance. Even so, the other side could have done little to alter that. The normal thing for Mr Nawaz Sharif's camp would have been to try and nurse its majority into as much of a consensus as possible. That would have better helped to keep the party intact. But then a non-political politician jibs at the political process, especially where he thinks he can force a hands-on conclusion in his favour.

Apart from the party presidency's notional value in the current state of the President-Prime Minister relationship, why so much eagerness to acquire an office which doesn't make much impact in the exercise of power. The answer probably lies in the question itself. The office is important because only by securing it can a prime minister render it inconsequential. In any other hands it would be liable to create a parallel centre of the power, and develop an organisational check. Our chief executives have never fancied this. If they have not much liked a party in the opposition, they have liked even less opposition within the party.

Muslim League governments have, throughout history, kept the party in less than a subservient position. The very sound principle of separating the party and the government offices was dispensed with early, except for brief spells in 1949, after 1955 and now following Mr Junejo's removal from power. Muslim League prime ministers and chief ministers have also been the central and provincial party chiefs, regardless of their earlier standing in the party.

Mohammad Ali Bogra, made prime minister on request by the Americans following Khawaja Nazimuddin's dismissal in April 1953, was also simultaneously hoisted onto the party to which he had almost been a total stranger until then. When Feroz Khan Noon was transferred from governorship of East Pakistan to chief ministership in Punjab, the party promptly switched over its allegiance from Daultana to him. Sardar Abdur Rashid, former inspector general of police and a total outsider to

politics, smoothly fell into place as the Provincial party chief when he took over as the chief minister of NWFP [North-West Frontier Province].

The party was thus made the handmaid of the executive. The party working committee was supposed to oversee the policies of the government and draw up programmes for the party council to assign to the government for implementation. But since the government itself nominated the members of the committee, there was little chance of the committee doing or saying anything that the government wouldn't want. That body even met at the will of the party president. It was, therefore, rarely consulted. Often it was left unconstituted or only partially constituted.

Mr Nawaz Sharif wouldn't, understandably, want it any different. He couldn't allow the party presidency to go into any other hands lest another Abdur Rab Nishtar would do a Chaudhry Mohammad Ali on him. Less so in the overheated atmosphere of current politics.

Generally too, Muslim Leaguers have remained true to type. Some 75 supposed elders wrenched themselves away from their families on Eid last week and trooped to Islamabad at Mian Nawaz Sharif's bidding. There they sang praises for his services to the party for almost four hours and nominated him as their president. What services he had rendered no one apparently recounted. For that would have taxed their imagination. Some of these elders had had a standing in the party of nearly as long a duration as the age of the object of their hymns. Yet they considered Mr Nawaz Sharif's services, in the few years since Mr Junejo forced the revival of the party system, or a stature to make him deserving of the highest honour the party could confer. Such is the party, such its elders.

The misfortune of the Muslim League has been that it never made the transition from being a one-point popular movement of the pre-partition years, sweeping all before it on the strength of emotions, to becoming a political party with a programme of conscious priorities and specific objectives. It continued to rely on symbols and slogans, on passions and pious generalities. And on an abundance of self-righteousness. It allowed the vacuum of policy making and physical planning, of the mundane requirements of running the enterprise of a nation state, to be filled by administrators and bureaucrats, who made their freedom of action progressively match their rising ambitions.

The party has continued to be a creature of power, rather than being the other way round. The label has been used in the past only to acquire political legitimacy or to cover the nakedness of political thinking and growth.

The power has always had to be shored up by the state apparatus. In any open and fair contest, the party has almost invariably tended to wilt. And there are no signs that it is going to be different now, for all Mr Wyne's

claims, Chaudhry Khaliqzaman fashion, of a successful membership drive and of having set up tens of thousands of basic party units.

The present imbroglio only confirms that Muslim Leaguers in power never change their colours. Nor, therefore, that they can much alter their fate.

Articles See Narcotics Trade Putting Nation at Risk

Dangerous Situation

93AS0783A Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu 1 Apr 93 p 6

[Editorial: "The Alarming Narcotics Situation in Pakistan."]

[Text] According to a study concerning the increasing use of narcotics, 4 million Pakistanis were found to be addicted to narcotics; 3 million, including students in schools, colleges and universities, used cocaine; 1 million used opium, marijuana and other kinds of narcotics. According to this survey, in Lahore alone, charges were filed against 1449 individuals for possession of narcotics and 139 kilos of heroin, 676 kilos of marijuana and 12 kilos of opium were seized. Of the 4 million drug addicts, 1 million were from Lahore. In spite of the efforts of the government and campaigns launched by social organizations, the use of narcotics continues to increase and regrettably, a large number of addicts are young and many of them are students. Drug dealers and drug users are both blots on humanity. The government department for the control of drugs and dozens of social organizations try to protect society from this curse by holding meetings, marches and discussions; nevertheless, the statistics cited in the investigative report reveal a frightening reality.

The campaign against narcotics continues and the prime minister has declared 1993 the year of drug control; however, the complaint is often heard that only small-time drug dealers are brought to justice whereas those who carry on the business of drugs on a large scale remain untouched. In fact, the agencies in charge of the matter avoid taking any direct action against these individuals. Some responsible people in society even go so far as to say that the reason for turning a blind eye to the large scale drug dealers is that a deal has been struck between the two sides. Without getting into a discussion as to how far this accusation is correct, one might well ask why it is that even after the campaigns being carried out on the private level, with foreign aid and with the use of national resources, against the production, sale and use of narcotics, no satisfactory results have been obtained. A survey conducted in 1992 by various youth organizations showed the number of narcotics addicts in the country to be 2 million 400,000 individuals, 1 million 500,000 of whom were young people. In the course of one year, the number of addicts increased to 4 million. Irrespective of whether these numbers are accurate, the fact remains that the use of narcotics is

increasing among the various classes of society and in particular among the young. The ordinance for drugs control has been issued and the task force newly established to take part in the campaign against drugs already in progress is carrying out its duties. The efforts to control drugs can succeed only when dealers in death and those who protect them are punished and the existing laws against the sale, purchase and use of drugs are further tightened.

Smugglers Must Be Prosecuted

93AS0783B Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu 2 Apr 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Decision To Punish Influential Narcotics Smugglers."]

[Text] Prime minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif has agreed to proposals that members of parliament and other influential individuals involved in the drug trade should be arrested and punished severely according to the law. The Narcotics Board has started investigation of assembly members, senators, industrialists and other influential individuals who might be connected with this reprehensible business. The chairman of PNCB [Pakistan Narcotics Control Board] said in an interview that in its efforts to stamp out the curse of addiction, the government would not show any leniency toward influential individuals who were connected with this dreadful business. Referring to the smuggling of narcotics to foreign countries, he spoke of the activities of the employees of various government departments and expressed resolve that as soon as the investigative stage was completed, the matter of narcotic smugglers and dealers would be brought to its logical conclusion.

It is not the first time that the complicity of assembly members, senators and other influential individuals in the reprehensible drug trade has been mentioned. Saudi Arabia, the United States, Britain, and various international organizations including the Interpol have brought this matter to the government's attention at various times. Only recently, Saudi authorities gave the government of Pakistan a list of narcotics smugglers compiled with the cooperation of international agencies. The names of certain members of parliament and many other influential individuals were mentioned in the list. The recent measures taken by the narcotics control board are a part of the campaign launched by the prime minister who, in an effort to save the country and the nation from the curse of drugs, declared 1993 as the year of ending addiction in Pakistan. Individuals who carried on a trade in narcotics amassed a large amount of black wealth for themselves in a short time but their activity has dealt an unforgivable blow to the dignity of the nation. Inside the country, only ordinary people are engaged in the drug business but those who are in the smuggling trade are influential individuals with ties not only to domestic but to international organizations as well. These influential persons are connected with drug smuggling Mafia and other notorious organizations, for, without ties to these

organizations it is not possible to transfer large quantities of narcotics to European markets. Because of their position, these narcotics dealers get preferential treatment at airports and seaports and the cooperation of government employees as well. The chairman of PNCB has openly acknowledged this fact. If members of parliament are proved to be smuggling narcotics, then disqualification proceedings should be started against them.

Serious Consequences Possible

93AS0783C Karachi JANG in Urdu 3 Apr 93 p 3

[Editorial: The Narcotics Storm and the Government's Responsibility.]"

[Text] According to the U. S. report on drug control, at least 3 members of Pakistan's parliament are engaged in narcotics smuggling and drug money has had an effect on Pakistan's economy. According to the report, illegal activities connected with narcotics have been detected on the government and judicial levels; however, no official of the government of Pakistan has so far been arrested on the charge of narcotics smuggling. The report says that the Pakistan government's record of action against narcotics smugglers was not encouraging. According to the report, 1 million 700,000 Pakistanis consumed two thirds of the heroin produced in the tribal areas. There is political interference in the drug control departments and a growing tendency to smuggle heroin through PIA [Pakistan International Airlines]. From 1987 to 1992, one hundred and sixty five kilos of smuggled heroin were seized on PIA.

Only a few items included in the U. S. report can be mentioned here. The statistics cited in the detailed report are worrisome and frightening. Even if some of the statistics may have been exaggerated, the facts are still so clear and the production, use and smuggling of heroin has created such a dangerous situation that even the exaggerations contained in the American report should be welcomed in the interests of improving the present conditions. The situation is so critical that any delay in taking effective and concrete measures will result in the total destruction of public health and ignominy for the country. Up to the decade of the seventies, opium and marijuana smuggling was intense. After the revolution in Iran, narcotics smugglers were severely punished [in that country], causing smugglers to divert their activities to Afghanistan and Pakistan. After the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, a large number of narcotics smugglers moved into free tribal areas. Obtaining chemicals for the production of heroin was never a problem because these chemicals are used in other industries as well. Nowadays, large amounts are being smuggled from India. Certain covert agencies in Pakistan report that Zia's national assembly included a number of smugglers; but no government has ever taken any effective measures against individuals engaged in this nefarious business which proves that influential drug smugglers have enjoyed government level patronage in one form or another. It is an undeniable

fact that drug money has had an effect not only on the national economy but on politics as well. The report points out that the election of the 3 heroin smugglers to the parliament proved that national politics had not remained immune from their influence. If heroin smugglers have succeeded in reaching the highest democratic institution in the country, then the possibility exists that they are represented in the lower level democratic institutions as well.

The organizations entrusted with the responsibility of controlling narcotics are not carrying out their duties fully. The common complaint is that their complicity in the drug trade makes it possible to ship narcotics easily from free tribal areas and remote places to the country's large cities and drug centers and to convey drugs to planes and ships for smuggling to foreign countries. How inefficient these organizations are can be judged from the recent statement to JANG of the chairman of the narcotics control board that now that the prime minister had given the green signal for the arrest of the "big fish" [in the narcotics business], these individuals would be arrested if evidence was obtained of their complicity in the drug trade. Just imagine; a department responsible for controlling drugs was waiting for a green signal from the prime minister and now would proceed to collect information and evidence against the "big fish."

The fact is that drug money has corrupted the structure of society; has produced very undesirable effects on moral and social values and has brought into existence a criminal class of nouveau riche which has had unpleasant effects on every aspect of society, from law and order to everything else. The unhealthy competition for wealth has corrupted the entire society. In addition to the destruction spread by heroin within the country, our actions have brought complaints from some of our dearest friends and benefactor countries foremost among them Saudi Arabia. Every Friday, one or two Pakistani drug smugglers are beheaded in a Saudi Arabian city; but the drug trade which is carried out by the smugglers with the cooperation of certain departments continues. More and more, Pakistan is being identified with the drug trade in other parts of the world. The government has not taken any steps beyond proposing that the property of drug smugglers should be confiscated and the smugglers themselves severely punished. The situation now is that inside the country, the health and well being of a large part of the new generation have been destroyed and outside the country, the dignity and good name of Pakistan have been blemished. But the government continues to make proposals and threats and does nothing further. What is needed is that in the light of the U. S. report and other earlier reports, a country-wide operation should be undertaken against drug smugglers and action should be taken first of all against influential criminals. They should be punished severely and their properties confiscated. Individuals providing information about drug centers and smugglers should be rewarded and protected in every way. In this way it will be possible to save society from destruction and restore Pakistan's good name internationally.

Destroying Image Abroad

93AS0783D Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
3 Apr 93 p 10

[Editorial: "The Drug Trade: National Honor in Danger."]

[Text] According to a report by the U. S. Information Agency, though laws exist in Pakistan for controlling narcotics and the resulting corruption, these laws are not efficiently put into effect as a result of which the problem is assuming dangerous aspects. The report accuses 3 members of parliament of complicity in the production and smuggling of narcotics and states that illegal money from drug smuggling operations was promoting corruption on various level of administrative and judicial systems. It cannot be denied that as a result of the war in Afghanistan, heroin production was started in the tribal areas where, due to lack of law enforcement control by the Pakistan government, effective anti-drug measures could not be taken. The unfortunate part is that while the excuse of lack of control over tribal areas is an acceptable one, there is no justification for the failure to stop narcotics smuggling from Pakistani airports and harbors. What is even more ironical, such is the inefficiency and complicity of the special department for drug control that its bureaucracy does not take the trouble to put up an appearance of taking any action. At least the police department continues to make true and false claims of seizing drugs but no government department has demonstrated any real interest or activity in putting an end to the drug trade. What is worse; most of the government departments which are in charge of surveillance at airports and harbors are implicated in the nefarious narcotics business. Employees of the PIA [Pakistan International Airlines], customs and the airport security force have been caught red handed outside the country which has caused government departments to lose credibility and foreign governments to lose confidence. Gullible travellers sometimes become unwitting tools of drug smugglers with the result that a Pakistani traveller is regarded in other parts of the world as being guilty of some kind of transgression. Pakistani travellers are subjected to demeaning searches. In Saudi Arabia, more than a hundred Pakistanis have been condemned by the courts to punishment by decapitation. In an interview with NAWA-I-WAQT, a counselor in the Saudi ministry of justice said that in Saudi Arabia, heroin was now identified with Pakistan. Strict laws against narcotics exist in other countries though not in Pakistan and, in addition to Saudi Arabia, Malaysia is another Islamic country where narcotics smuggling draws a death penalty. An organized campaign is being waged against narcotics smuggling in the United States and Europe. The United States went so far as to kidnap the head of a neighboring country who was engaged in the drug business and brought him to trial. Some countries have given Pakistan lists of criminals who are wanted on charges of smuggling narcotics. Narcotics production has been responsible for negative effects on Pakistani society. On

the one hand, a large part of the population has succumbed to this curse and become a burden on society; on the other hand, drug money has upset the economic system and those who have become rich overnight act like corrupt royalty. It is the responsibility of the government of Pakistan to end the production of and trade in narcotics for the sake of its own people. The future of the nation and the country is in jeopardy. Second, it is necessary to end the drug Mafia's control over economic and political activity. Third, in order to restore Pakistan's good name and protect Pakistanis from the strict laws enforced in foreign countries, the Immigration, ASF, Customs, PIA, Import Export and all departments connected with narcotics control should be thoroughly overhauled and the nefarious trade carried on with their cooperation be ended. When the policeman becomes a thief, there can be no end to a nation's misery. The government, public institutions and the people should unite and gain control over the production and smuggling of narcotics. The government should also put an end to its excuses about the tribal areas.

Drug Smuggling Flourishes

93AS0783E Karachi AKHBAR-E-JEHAN in Urdu
29 Mar 93 p 12

[News Report, Excerpt, from Sukhar by Khaja Javed Ahmad: "Narcotics Smuggling."]

[Text] After a hearing by the Saudi court, more than 70 Pakistanis engaged in narcotics smuggling will suffer the punishment of decapitation as decreed by Saudi law. In addition to these individuals, 4 individuals connected with Afghanistan have also been arrested. According to their travel documents, these Pakistanis are from Peshawar, Char Sada, Fata and some are from Islamabad, Lahore, Karachi and Larkana. During his two day stay in Sakhar, the federal minister for narcotics [sic], Rana Chandar Singh was asked by journalists about the news report. He replied that most of these Pakistanis carried forged passports, visas and photographs; that these individuals were paid employees of the international heroin Mafia and that forged documents and travel papers were used to carry out a nefarious conspiracy against Pakistan.

Pakistan has been getting a bad name world wide for being involved in heroin smuggling. If this notoriety had been without any substance, one could have dismissed it as propaganda carried on by the West and the enemies of Islam. But the fault has to be accepted as being our own; a few greedy individuals without conscience are ready to sell their honor. For a long time, a chemical used in the production of heroin which is manufactured in the West and is called Inderoid, has been smuggled over the border with India into the frontier towns of Khapru and Omakot in 4 gallon cans. The chemical is then transported in trucks to tribal areas and from there to Afghanistan. Narcotics minister, Rana Chander Singh who is a cousin of former Indian prime minister V. P. Singh, belongs to the tribal areas of Omar Kot and Khapru.

When we questioned him, he told us that on being informed [of the smuggling], he had ordered strict surveillance over drug trafficking in those areas where for a long time large quantities of Inderoid were being smuggled into Pakistan from India; that the police and frontier rangers of the areas had fired at the smugglers and seized a truck; they had found 11 drums of the chemical Inderoid worth 20 million rupees from which 110 maunds of high grade heroin could be produced; that amount of heroin would fetch more than 6 billion rupees on the international market.

According to Rana, 4 individuals connected with the truck were arrested; they were from the tribal areas. Rana stated that in the next assembly meeting, a bill prescribing the death penalty for drug smugglers would be discussed and he hoped that the implementation of the law would have the desired effect on the nefarious drug business; that most countries already had such a law and it was the duty of the government of Pakistan to advertise the fact extensively that in foreign countries drug smuggling carried the death penalty so that greedy Pakistanis from the inland areas who were the victims of the drug Mafia would become aware of the punishment. Rana complained that Western countries complained loudly but failed to give sufficient financial aid which would allow curtailment of narcotics cultivation; that the decadence one observed in society was due to the fact that opportunism and self interest prevented a united stand against evil and oppression; nevertheless, one had to be grateful that there were a few individuals left who could stand up to the enemies of society.

Daily Challenges ISI To Prove Heroin Allegations

*BK0906132793 Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 1 Jun 93 pp 1, 2*

[Text] An Islamabad periodical has published a list of alleged smugglers of heroin in Pakistan and has included the name of the chief editor of THE FRONTIER POST [FP] among them. It has claimed that the list has been provided to it by Inter Services Intelligence (ISI). Before the dissolution of the National Assembly in April a mass circulation Urdu daily in Karachi had also hinted at the charge at a time when the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government was angry with THE FRONTIER POST.

The ISI, being an important institution of the state must clarify whether the list published in the said magazine is authentic or not. If indeed the list was officially handed over, the ISI has to answer whether it was compiled on the basis of any proof and if proof is in the possession of the agency, how is it that it was not provided to the magazine so that its story could be deemed credible? The last question is why hasn't the ISI asked the government to move court of law to prosecute and punish the chief editor of THE FRONTIER POST?

The truth of the matter is that the charge against THE FRONTIER POST has appeared in print because the government has been hurt by the newspaper's bold investigative stories and an independent editorial stance.

Because of professional jealousy and ideological opposition, the charge has floated around in the shape of rumour ever since General Zia thought the newspaper in Peshawar had become too independent. It was always the ISI that was assigned the task of bringing the FP to heel.

In the weeks before the dissolution in April, the ISI began 'investigating' THE FRONTIER POST. Former DG [Director General] ISI Lieutenant General Javed Nasir accused FP Peshawar edition of having acquired a car from Engineer Golboddin Hekmatyar 'free of cost', an accusation that was refuted in short order through documentary proof by the newspaper. Thereafter, the DG ISI in person levelled the charge against FP that it was including in "zariat" (personalities) while publishing stories about the family of the prime minister. (FP had covered the family quarrel over shareholding in Mian Sharif's empire). It was obvious that the ISI wanted the FP to accord its uncritical support to the prime minister. The newspaper was already supporting the PM against the president and supporting the IJI government's economic reform barring its political strategy and human rights record where FP's support was not uncritical.

DG ISI, who interpreted frequent reference to stories and opinion of THE FRONTIER POST in the Indian press as some kind of treason, on one occasion expressed his resolve to make Rehmat Shah lick his boots. This remark made in the presence of the head of one state agency and a federal minister of the IJI in was communicated to chief editor FP by someone who was present. From that date onwards, it was certain that the ISI was about to wreak its anger on the newspaper. Had it been for reasons of state security, one would understand this anger and try to reason with it. But it was proved again and again by incidents that the anger sprang from the fact that THE FRONTIER POST was printing news and views not favoured by the government.

The interlude of dissolution which followed, (the FP opposed dissolution because of its stand against the 8th amendment), more facts came to light. One 'secret' report made to the information ministry linked chief editor and the resident editor of the Lahore edition of FP to India, among other false accusations pertaining to personal character and religion. It should be mentioned here that one seminar held with Indian guests by the FP was cleared by the IJI government and the Indians were kindly received by the prime minister at the end of the seminar. Resident editor Lahore edition had been going to India with government and semi-government delegations either in the context of the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] or the unofficial bilateral dialogue agreed to by both the governments.

In Pakistan, press freedom has come under pressure over the past years. The FP came under particular pressure under the martial law regime of General Zia. Under the caretaker government of Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi after the 1990 dissolution the pressure became intense after the FP editorially supported Nawaz Sharif for the post of

prime minister instead Mr. Jatoi. After its elevation to power, the IJI began to collabolate with the presidential policy in Sindh. The FP came under threat from the government of Jam Sadiq Ali and his allies. Irianullah Marwat and Altaf Hussain. Its reporters were threatened and, in one case, tortured by the Sindh administration.

The list allegedly prepared by the ISI before its last chief was ousted from his job has victimised the FP. It is the culmination of a long defamation campaign aimed at making the newspaper 'behave'. It is curious that FP seems to hurt the establishment more than other English language publications carrying more damning negative reportage, about misgovernment as well the 'personalities'. It is tragic that in Pakistan today, an outspoken stance in favour of human rights and a reasoned argument against fundamentalism and international isolationism offends the partisans of the more radical point of view to such an abnormal degree. Instead of opposing harassment of the press at the hands of those in power, publications tend to encourage this victimisation. The infamous 'list' attributed to ISI contains many names familiar to readers in Pakistan. Some of them have been treated very kindly and offered 'concessions' by people who have now turned so righteous and suddenly added the name of the FP in the list.

Since the Zia days, the attitude of THE FRONTIER POST has been that, if its owner is involved in narcotics trade, he should be persecuted in the court of law so that statements and rumours published against the FP are not interpreted as victimisation in general and an effort to muzzle the press. Now that a list has been published in the name of the ISI, it is morally binding on the ISI to tell the public whether the list is authentic. If however it is authentic, it is equally binding on the ISI to move government to register a case against the offender so that proof against the FP can be made public. Otherwise, the list will be seen as yet another effort to pressurize a newspaper into submission.

In the past, the FP has been following the policy of ignoring all rumours against it. It still believes that the onus of proving a crime is on the accuser. As for the defamation that arises out of unsubstantiated reporting, it is advisable to refrain from involving oneself in endless litigation. This reply has been written to clarify to the readers of THE FRONTIER POST that the addition of FP to the already well-known list is bogus. It is also correct that calling something bogus is not enough, therefore, THE FRONTIER POST asks that the list be authenticated and the accusation be made the subject of a case in the court of law. If this is not done, it will be yet another effort in the long catalogue of anti-press measures taken by the establishment of Islamabad to its own final [word indistinct].

Government Attacked for Arresting Arabs at U.S. Behest

93AS0794E Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 4 Apr 93 p 4

[Editorial: "Overwhelmed With Fear."]

[Text] So great is Pakistan's fear of the United States that it is now committing self-destruction. After the United States and certain Muslim countries under U. S. influence raised an outcry, the government of Pakistan arrested a number of Arab brothers who fought for years shoulder to shoulder with the Afghans in a jihad against a great power, the Soviet Union. Strangely enough, the government of Pakistan has always maintained that the war fought in Afghanistan was Pakistan's war as well. Today, the veteran winners of that war have suddenly become terrorists in the eyes of the government. For 14 years, the thought never occurred to the United States that those who defeated its enemy in Afghanistan were terrorists; hence the United States supplied them with arms and other kinds of aid. But when the back of the Soviet Union was broken, these same men suddenly became terrorists in U. S. eyes. The government of Pakistan has reached the stage where it has no will of its own. A moment of reflection will show that real terrorists, no matter in what part of the world, never enter the field of battle nor do they undertake any action which jeopardizes their life without bringing them any profit. The question is, what kind of terrorists are these [the veterans of war in Afghanistan] who readily gave up their worldly comforts and luxuries and came to sacrifice their lives and property for people who were not even related to them by blood. These men came to the aid of their brothers in religion for the sole purpose of finding acceptance in the eyes of God; in a way they were beholden to Pakistan as well. But the good name which Pakistan earned over the years it has now destroyed by its own actions. What can one call this behaviour except self-torture? These veterans of jihad were men who would have rushed unhesitatingly to help Pakistan or any other Islamic nation in time of need. May evil befall those who are afraid of the enemies of Islam and wrong headed authorities, for they are ruining a good name and arousing opposition. These Arab brothers were not only arrested harshly but they were also subjected to violence. If they had to be arrested, then the procedure should have been carried out humanely and without loss of dignity. Their documents could have been checked at their homes or they could have been asked to bring their papers and if any deficiencies had been found, the individuals should have been given time to leave the country. Was it necessary to subject these victorious veterans of jihad to such indignity? We demand that the government of Pakistan show proper respect to these Arab nationals.

Commentaries Condemn Government Arrest of Arab Nationals**Government Fears U.S.***93AS0859A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu
16 Apr 93 pp 14-15*

[Article by Yahaya Bin Zakaria Siddiqi: "Peshawar Operation"]

[Text] Last week, the Pakistani government arrested Muslim people from Arab and African countries who were living in Peshawar. They are being tortured in police stations. These Arab and African nationals, who had established welfare agencies for the last 14 years to help Afghan refugees, and helped Pakistan in bearing the burden of Afghan refugees, not only used their own money for this work, but also participated in the jihad in the Iraqi mountains of Afghanistan. Many of their friends and associates have been martyred in these efforts. A few days after the Islamabad peace pact, the government of Pakistan started taking action against Arab and African mujaheddin in Afghanistan. Perhaps this would be surprising for many people; however, to those who have kept an eye on the conspiracies and goals of the United States of America, which is opposed to Islamic movements, this recent incident in Peshawar would appear not only to be expected, but to be part of the chain of events.

Some intellectuals, who appear to sympathize with the Afghanistani jihad, and also have friendships and close relationships with the Afghan leadership, believe that the defeat of the Soviet Union by the Afghan mujaheddin was resulted because of U. S. arms aid. In this context, they support U. S. policy and try to get the support of popular opinion. However, the incidents that took place between the Peshawar agreement and the Islamabad agreement have not only unmasked U. S. "sympathy" for the Afghans, but have also shown us the ugly face of U.S. vested interests. Everything that was in the dark has now come out into the open. It is clear that the powerful people in the Pakistani government always follow U. S. instructions. For many of these faces that have been made heroes of the Afghan jihad, the real test of character will come when they follow the anti-U. S. Afghanistani policy.

During the '60s the Arab governments, especially in Egypt, suppressed the Islamic movement forcibly. The leaders of the movement were sentenced death, tortured in jails, and forced to leave their countries in large numbers. It was not coincidental that the Islamic movement, both in Pakistan and Egypt, had to face government suppression at the same time, and that Sayyed Mowdoodi was sentenced to death in a military court. Military dictators were placed in all Islamic countries. They especially targeted Islamic campaigns; however, the increasing Soviet influence scared the United States of America. In Vietnam, the United States military had to suffer the stigma of defeat. In order to counter the

Soviet Union, American policy makers decided to get support from religions around the world. As a result of this policy, the suppression of religion in many countries was reduced. Later, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan and the Soviet Union had the oil fields of the Middle East only 1,000 miles away via the ocean. The United States was forced to make the enemy of its enemy its friend because of its enmity toward the Soviet Union. The American policy makers and former President Nixon succeeded in convincing the Soviet Union that the one ideological enemy of the Soviet Union and the United States of America was Islam. This is what it is using in its propaganda campaign. These accusations range from militant Islam to terrorism caused by the Islamic countries. The whole American communications media is focusing on it under the leadership of the CIA. The Afghan jihad created love and zeal for martyrdom in the Islamic world. The Gulf war and the incidents that followed it also sent a wave of awakening among Muslims worldwide. This unmasked U. S. imperialist designs and its claim to be a champion of democracy. People with sharp eyes have begun to see that Islamic campaigns will be difficult now. All the U. S.-controlled governments in various Islamic countries have simultaneously started a propaganda tirade against the mujahedeen who took part in the Afghan jihad. Mrs. Aabida Hussein, the Pakistani ambassador to the United States, said in a statement that Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan is providing training to the terrorists in occupied Kashmir. An official in the Tajikistan government made a similar accusation. The Algerian government has accused the mujahids that took part in Sudan, Iran, and Afghanistan of causing problems in Algeria. However, the worst accusation was levied by Egypt's president, Hosni Mubarak. He said that the mujahids who get training in terrorist camps on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border are involved in instigatory activities in Egypt. In this context, at the insistence of the United States, the director of the CIA has visited Egypt, and their home minister will also visit later. Even Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Hosni Mubarak discussed this issue, and Nawaz Sharif took a very apologetic attitude. Soon afterwards, Arab and African nationals were arrested in Peshawar. At the present time, the Islamic awakening and movement is centered in Egypt and Pakistan. Pakistan has the distinction of vanquishing the Soviet Union through its strategy and jihad. The Islamic leadership of Egypt has also demonstrated its determination and steadfastness, and this has helped to increase feelings of faith. At this time, the Islamic campaign in Egypt is being targeted again. The CIA caused those bomb blasts in the World Trade Center, and then accused a group of being involved in it in order to crush the Islamic campaign. The U. S. campaign against Muslims all over the world has made it clear that the United States is scared of the strong feelings of jihad and the desire to becoming martyrs by the Islamic movement. But this is not the '60s anymore. Muslims all over the world have awakened, and Muslim mujahids are present in every part of the world that have the desire to become martyrs and want to have jihad. They also know their enemy very well, and these enemies

are the Muslim rulers who are puppets in the hands of the United States of America. They obey their American bosses and cannot remain straddling the shoulders of the Muslim people for much longer.

National Interests Compromised

93AS0859B Lahore NIDA-E-KHILAFAT in Urdu
13 Apr 93 p 24

[Editorial: "We Have Given in to America"]

[Text] The recent arrests of Arab nationals living in Peshawar and their inhuman treatment have indicated that we have given in to the United States of America, and that we will have to obey every order, valid or unjustified, of the United States of America. It is not a surprising development that, in addition to disobeying Allah and His religion, we have reached the limits of embarrassment and of being humiliated. With all this in mind, we should be prepared for the worst. We are so helpless and desolate that the special assistant to our prime minister had a very hard time getting permission to give a clarification to the U.S. government in Washington.

All governments and countries pass through difficult times, and if a nation is not morally and mentally bankrupt, then it can still change for the better. However, our situation is very different. The major sickness we are suffering from is hypocrisy. The higher the position one has, the more hypocrite that person is, and Allah knows that this is a crime which has no other punishment except embarrassment and degradation. When they die, such people will have the worst punishment given in the Koran. If we do not change our present situation and are not faithful to the religion of Allah, then even after we beg and cajole the United States of America a million times, there will be no positive development in our condition. Under present circumstances, claims to develop a prosperous and strong Pakistan are nothing but lies and deception. In order to get out of this embarrassing and insulting situation and make Pakistan a stable and strong country, we have to take the only path available to us, and that is to stop all of this honestly and sincerely and make our attitude towards Allah and religion proper and honest. This is the only way to get the help and blessing of Allah. All of the world's major powers are insulting us, and we should know that we have only one door, and that is the door of Allah. We can take refuge in his merciful side.

U.S. Pressure Responsible

93AS0859C Lahore MUSAWAT in Urdu 17 Apr 93 p 1

[Article by Asad Munir Bhatti: "No Foundation Behind the Campaign Against the Arab Nationals"]

[Text] After the bomb blast in the World Trade Center on 26 February, Western nations and some Arab nations began to terrorize the Arab nationals living in Peshawar. They are pressuring the government of Pakistan to extradite these people without any investigation. The

actions of the United States of America and its affiliated nations have caused unrest in Pakistan. The government of Pakistan, under this foreign pressure, has started to take action against these Arab nationals. The question arises: Why were all these atrocious actions taken against the Arab nationals on 26 February, even though they had been living here for 14 years? Why did not they give such an impression during that time? Were there no terrorists before that time? If we take a look into the past, we will learn that it was the United States that led the mujahids against the Russian army and communism after the Russian armies were pushed out of Afghanistan. The United States not only incited Afghan mujahirs [refugees], Pakistan, and other Islamic countries against communism, but also openly provided them with economic and arms aid. If we keep the record of the past in front of us, we will learn that these Arab nationals were also brought here during that time, and that they were trained under the nose of the CIA. The CIA played an important role in the Afghan operation at that time, therefore, the U. S. continued to call these people mujahirs. Even the present government calls these Arab nationals mujahirs of Islam. Now, suddenly, everything has changed. Now that the Soviet armed forces have left Afghanistan and Russia is defeated, the interests of the United States and the West have changed. This change in their interests has turned the mujahirs into terrorists in their eyes, and strict action is being demanded against them. In other words, as long as these Arab nationals were aiding United States and Western interests, they were legitimate, and these people who had killed many communists suddenly became terrorists, because six Americans were killed. Now the question arises: Whether the seed the United States and Western nations sowed here 14 years ago can be uprooted now by arresting these Arab nationals? This appears to be impossible, because even the U. S. communications media has admitted that over 2,000 Arab nationals have reached various parts of Afghanistan. Some of them have reached Tajikistan and Bosnia. Meanwhile, the Jamaat-i-Islami, which used to recruit Arab young men in the name of jihad, and which was involved heavily in opposing Soviet rule in Afghanistan, is in a serious dilemma now. It is very worried about the treatment of the Arab guests from countries that cooperated with it. It is at a loss as to what to do. The present government, at the behest of the United States of America, is trying to sabotage Islamic movements in different countries. There seems to be very little hope of success. The situation in Afghanistan has put Pakistan in a very difficult predicament at the international level, and it is suffering the results of being involved with the Soviet Union. The problem of Afghan nationals has become another major issue. The Republican party of the United States, which was a party in this whole affair, is not in power now, and a new party is ruling the United States of America. What will happen now? Different analysts are looking at it from different angles, and they do not expect any quick resolution to this problem. They are advising the United States that instead of dealing with these situations one by one, it should determine its priorities. Should the problem of

establishing peace in Afghanistan be taken care of first? Should they deal with the challenge of heroin smuggling from Afghanistan to the United States and Europe? Should they extricate the Arab nationals and take action against them? If the United States muddles in these affairs without first establishing its priorities, then the results will be negative. The action taken against Arab nationals in relation to the bomb blasts at the World Trade Center has put the U. S. government in a dilemma. The FBI could not present proof of these Arab nationals being involved in the World Trade Center blasts. The investigating officials are alternately claiming that the suspects have fled to Pakistan or to Egypt or to South Africans. At other times, they accuse Iran of being behind these blasts. However, no solid proof has been obtained against Umar Abdul Rehman Salama, who was arrested in this context. Instead, they have started a campaign against the Arab nationals living in Peshawar and are just "shooting arrows into the air."

Arrest of Illegal Arabs Supported

93AS0855D Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu
18 Apr 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Action Taken Against Illegal Arab Nationals."]

[Text] Certain circles have unnecessarily given great prominence to the action taken by the authorities concerned against Arab nationals living in Peshawar. One can see that these circles or parties do not want the laws of the country to be obeyed; in other words, they are advocating lawlessness. In taking action against these Arab nationals, it has been made clear that legal residents are not being questioned; action is being taken only against those who are illegal residents. Perhaps those who are raising an outcry against these legal proceedings do not know that whenever similar action is taken against Pakistanis in another country, no one protests against it because it is that country's internal matter.

True, these Arabs are nationals of friendly countries and also true that they came to help the Afghans in their jihad and were inspired by the Islamic spirit; but this does not exempt them from legal restrictions. If the spirit of jihad and religious sincerity were to be accepted as the only requirements, should not Muslims from all parts of the world be allowed to go to haj and umra [pilgrimage in other than haj month] without any legal hindrance? Now that the jihad has ended in Afghanistan, these Arab

nationals no longer have any reason to stay and should return to their countries. If the Pakistan government is trying to send them back to their countries and, in so doing, is carrying out the laws of this country, there should not be any outcry against it.

Nevertheless, if these Arab nationals wish to live legally in any province in Pakistan, this or any other government may not place any obstacles in their path on condition that they fulfill the necessary requirements and obtain the consent of their governments. These individuals would have to obey Pakistan's laws since they are part of civil rights.

Roundup of Illegal Aliens Viewed

93AS0855B Karachi JANG in Urdu 30 Apr 93 p 3

[Editorial: "Campaign Against Illegal Aliens."]

[Text] According to press reports, FIA [Federal Investigation Agency] Passport Cell arrested 165 foreigners in the last four months and seized more than 500 Pakistani passports and identification cards. These individuals were living illegally in Pakistan for a long time. There is no doubt that the number of foreigners with forged documents living in Pakistan has increased alarmingly and they have been responsible for an increase in the smuggling of heroin and other narcotics and a deterioration in law and order. For a long time, Sindh faced a serious lapse in law and order and the situation was restored to normal through the efforts of law enforcement agencies. Government sources have acknowledged on several occasions that foreigners have been involved in incidents of bomb explosions, attacks on trains and looting and theft on a large scale. Most of the individuals were agents trained by RAA. Foreigners are also implicated in the smuggling of narcotics to foreign countries by means of individuals carrying Pakistani passports; the fact that smugglers carry Pakistani passports gives the country a bad name. The basic reason that foreigners are able to obtain identity cards and passports is that reportedly, agents stationed in front of these offices use their influence to provide identity cards and passports in exchange for money whereas Pakistani nationals have to pass through a painful process to obtain identity cards and passports for themselves. It is reassuring that foreign nationals will no longer be able to obtain cards and passports as easily as in the past; nevertheless, satisfactory results will be obtained only when it will no longer be possible to obtain cards and passports through [illegal] sources.

Sectarian Violence Seen Spreading to Bahawalpur
93AS0776E Lahore THE FRIDAY TIMES in English
7 Apr 93 p 5

[Article by Khalid Hussain: "Another Jhang in the Making"]

[Text] Bahawalpur—This city remained under siege on Eid day following a grenade attack on a Shia mosque during Eid prayers. Shia youth retaliated by imposing a de facto curfew on the city. Shia leaders accuse the Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP) of masterminding the attack and claim it is only the latest in a series of incidents designed to terrorise their community. The police and city administration, in the meantime, are continuing to pursue a policy of 'forgive and forget.'

Three unknown persons attacked the main Shia Jamia Mosque in Mohalla Chah Fateh Khan at 8.35 a.m. on Eid day with hand grenades and fired kalashnikov rounds in and around the mosque while Eid prayers were being offered. The congregation was in the second of the two Rakaat (unit of Muslim prayers) special prayers when the first of the three hand grenades landed amidst the congregation from the six-and-a-half feet high southern wall of the mosque. And before the congregation could take in what had happened, a second and a third grenade landed amongst it. These were followed by short, controlled bursts of automatic weapons.

The prayer mats in the mosque were coloured red with the blood of the injured and the dead. Three persons, including a pre-school child, succumbed to injuries on the spot while another died in the hospital. One unidentified Army jawan also died on his way to the combined military hospital.

The injured numbered well over 100, of whom 44 persons needed hospitalisation. Four injured persons are still reported to be in a 'serious' condition.

There was pandemonium in the Shia Mosque and the predominantly Shia Mohalla Chah Fateh Khan after the incident. Ambulances were screaming while everyone searched frantically for relatives among the dead and the injured. But the community soon came out of shock and geared up for action. Shia youth, armed with automatic weapons, barricaded the whole locality. Contingents soon arrived from Multan, Rahim Yar Khan, Sadiqabad, Dera Ghazi Khan, Leia, Muzaffargarh, Faisalabad etc to join the locals.

No senior officer in the district management and police was present in the city and junior officials couldn't decide what to do. This gave the militant young Shias sufficient time to literally take over the city. They barricaded the main road-crossing in and around the old city of Bahawalpur and stopped everyone from entering and leaving the area.

At places the Shia young men, armed and furious, interrogated people about the descriptions of the assailants. They also conducted house searches in some places

and subjected anybody daring to step out of his home to a body search. They did not, however, harm anyone.

By noon their hold on the city was established and there was no way for the administration to assert its authority. Even journalists were not permitted to venture out and photographs were prohibited.

In fact the whole city closed down and people didn't come out of their homes on Eid day. The shops remained closed for two full days before some measure of activity returned to the frightened city.

A mob took over the Bahawalpur Railway Station and stopped all rail traffic. The south-bound Shalimar Express was detained at Bahawalpur for eight hours by protestors. Yet another mob blocked traffic on roads leading to Karachi and Multan.

But all this was understandable. The act of terrorism was immediately perceived as "sectarian violence" both by the Shia and Sunni communities. Sectarian tension in the former princely state of Bahawalpur has been on the rise since 1989. Prior to this time, Shias and Sunnis co-existed in the area without any enmity or even tension.

Shias accuse Maulvi Abdulla Khan, central vice president of the SSP, of deliberately creating sectarian hatred in Bahawalpur. "The two communities co-existed peacefully until Maulvi Abdullah came to Bahawalpur in 1989 and became the district president of SSP," charges district Bahawalpur president of Tehrik Nifazi-Fiqah-i-Jafria (TNFJ), Khawaja Mureed Hussain.

Maulvi Abdullah Khan hails from Zhob, Balochistan. He held positions of importance in madrassas in Sindh and Rahim Yar Khan before he came to Bahawalpur in 1989. A fiery orator and zealous campaigner against Shias, the maulvi was offered the district presidentship of the SSP the same year, a position he accepted. "Shias are kafir (infidels) but nobody listened to us or did anything to protect the honour of the Sehaba-e-Ikram (Companions of the Prophet)," says Tehsil Bahawalpur president of SSP Khan Muhammad Fiaz Khan. "But since we made him our president things are changing. People are now listening to us and soon we will have Shias declared infidels."

He denies, however, that SSP had anything to do with the attack on the mosque. "We issued an appeal for a strike in solidarity with the Shias. But instead they are accusing us," exclaims vice-president SSP district Bahawalpur Maulana Muhammad Ismail.

But the Shias insist that it was SSP men who attacked their mosque on Eid day to make it clear that they will not allow Shias to live in Bahawalpur.

"Beginning from Maulvi Abdullah's arrival in the district, the Shia community has been systematically subjected to harassment, torture and violence," says TNFJ's

Mureed Hussain. "Four Shias have been jailed on charges of insulting the Sehaba-e-Ikram under section 295-A of the CrPC."

The TNFJ cites a long list of incidents to support its claim. "In Lal Sohanra in 1990, the SSP forcibly occupied a Shia mosque which is still under their control," says Mureed Hussain. "A mosque in Head Rajkan in Tehsil Yazman was razed to the ground by SSP men, and in Kherpur Tamewalia, Shias have been prohibited from using the loudspeaker for Azaan by the Assistant Commissioner."

"There was a clash between Shias and Sunnis in Kotla Shekhan when SSP men refused to allow the passage of the 10th Muharram procession," Mureed continues. "Two people were killed after they were hit by bullets fired by the police and the Sunnis, but seven Shias have been arrested."

Shias also complain of a murder attempt on Allama Shafqat. They claim he saw his assailants, who were all SSP members, but the police has still failed to apprehend them. Maulvi Khursheed and Kherat Hussain of TNFJ were killed by kalashnikov bursts by the SSP.

The TNFJ's latest grievance was the forcible eviction of 14 Shia families on March 5, 1993 by SSP men. The SSP men also allegedly razed their houses to the ground using tractors mounted with front blades normally used to level land.

In all these cases Maulvi Abdul emerges as the central figure along with Maulana Muhammad Muaz. Both have been taken into custody by police and are under interrogation.

But the police is still at a loss about the bombing of the mosque. "We don't have a clear description of the attackers," SP Tariq Khokhar told TFT [THE FRIDAY TIMES]. The police is considering two possibilities: that the incident was one of sectarian violence or involved a foreign element. SSP men are quick to support the foreign agent theory as it absolves them of responsibility. But the TNFJ is also not mincing its words.

The police has so far assessed that the attack was carried out by trained terrorists who could be from the SSP as the organisation includes many trained youth who fought in Afghanistan. "The five second gap between grenade throws indicates that only one person threw them and the other two were standing guard to give their comrade cover. The short, controlled and contained fire with automatic weapons while escaping is not possible for anyone without rigorous training," says SP Tariq Khokhar. The assailants were trained professionals and very methodical. The manner in which the operation was

conducted shows that it was well planned and researched since the streets are only 4-5 feet wide and the area crowded."

To date the Bahawalpur administration's policy has been to pacify both factions. The administration has been reluctant to take stern action against the accused in sectarian cases and this leniency has been instrumental in fanning the fires of sectarianism. They are still preaching a policy of forgiveness and are not conducting any transparent investigations into past cases.

"This can only make matters worse," says a senior police official. "if the situation remains unchecked it won't be long before Bahawalpur becomes another Jhang."

Muslim Teacher Accused of Blasphemy

93AS0776D Lahore THE FRIDAY TIMES in English
14 Apr 93 p 3

[Article by Khalid Hussain: "Jamaat Islamiat Teacher Accused of Blasphemy"]

[Text] A lecturer of Islamic studies at Government Degree College Shujabad has been charged with blasphemy under section 295C of the Criminal Procedure Code by one of his own students. The teacher, who belongs to the Jamaat-i-Islami, is in hiding and has so far escaped arrest.

The complainant, Fida Hussain, is a third year student at the college. According to his testimony, as recorded in the First Information Report (FIR) of the police, Hafiz Imam Bux was delivering a lecture on March 6, 1993 on the subject of "The Day of Judgement (Qiamat)." One of the students, Shehbaz Ahmad, asked the teacher to explain whether or not the Holy Prophet (PBUH) [Peace Be Upon Him] would intervene on the Day of Judgement to absolve all his followers of their sins. The professor allegedly replied in words to the effect that: "The prophet did nothing here and will do nothing there." The complainant says that the teacher repeated this 'blasphemy' three times in class.

The police is also convinced that Hafiz Imam is 'guilty' of blasphemy. "I have noted 18 statements from witnesses and all confirm that he did say those words, which amount to blasphemy," says Station House Officer [SHO] at the Shujabad City Police Station, Khizar Hayat. "We know he is hiding in Mansoor (Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) headquarters in Lahore)," he adds.

The SHO, however, refused point-blank to allow TFT [THE FRIDAY TIMES] to go through his investigation reports. "The investigations are secret and cannot be shown to anybody before they are submitted in a court of law," he says. Incidentally, it is normal practice for police officials to allow journalists to go through their investigation papers in exchange for a little credit in the news report.

Hafiz Imam Bux, the accused, was born in Shujabad about 50 years ago. He was an active member of the Islami Jamiat-e-Tulaba and held important offices in the JI's militant student organisation. Hafiz became a member of the JI during his stay at the Punjab University. He was the Land Revenue Collector of the Punjab University, Lahore, for over 10 years before he managed a change of designation as lecturer in Islamic Studies. He was posted at Sumandri and Jaranwala before he came to Shujabad about a couple of years ago. His transfer to Shujabad was managed by the local MNA [Member of National Assembly], Syed Javed Ali Shah, parliamentary secretary of the Pakistan Muslim League in the National Assembly.

Hafiz Imam Bux is held in high esteem by his colleagues and neighbours. "He always led a hand-to-mouth existence despite his reasonable salary at the Punjab University," says his friend Muhammad Ayaz, who runs a wholesale business in Shujabad. Hafiz ran a grocery shop in the evening to earn a little extra money for his family.

When the police, 25 men and all armed to the teeth, came to arrest the lecturer on the night of March 17, 1993, he was sitting in 'Aitkaaf' (voluntary seclusion in the last ten days of Ramzan) in a mosque. He was, however, tipped off by someone and managed to escape arrest.

His sympathisers maintain that Hafiz Sahib is being victimised by local MNA Javed Ali Shah—whom he slighted in the course of his duty. According to Rao Muzaffar, Hafiz Imam Bux's counsel, the MNA was cross with Hafiz for not taking his men on to a local Zakat and Usher Committee during the recent elections in Punjab. Hafiz Imam Bux was appointed Convenor by the district Chairman of Zakat and Usher on one of the two committees in Tehsil Shujabad.

The Convenor and the two other members of the committee have the right to select anyone recommended by the community after satisfying themselves of the piety of the man in question. Hafiz Imam Bux was approached by the MNA and his brother a number of times during the committee elections in the Tehsil. Hafiz Sahib's counsel has letters in which the MNA and his brother threatened the lecturer to select their supporters 'or else.'

"Hafiz Sahib was attacked once when one of the MNA's men failed to be elected chairman of the committee in village Dairapur in January this year. He lodged an FIR [First Information Report] which is still pending with the police and no action has been taken against that report," says Rao Muzaffar. The MNA was again humiliated in his strongholds at villages Mahra and Agarkhani when his men were defeated and all his opponents elected. "This", maintains Hafiz Imam Bux's lawyer, "is the real background to the registration of a blasphemy case against a pious man."

But it does seem that some unpleasant incident did take place at the college on March 6, 1993. According to

TFT's investigations, Hafiz was teaching "Ayatul Kursi" when the question was asked. He reportedly replied: "the Holy Prophet (PBUH) did nothing in this world except that God Almighty directed him to do and he will not do anything on the Day of Judgement that has not been ordained by Allah Almighty."

This created a big of confusion and misunderstanding which was resolved the next day. The college staff gathered in Hafiz Sahib's class and he explained that he had said that the Holy Prophet (PBUH) did not do anything without the will of the Creator. Hafiz also apologised in the event that anyone's feelings had been hurt because of the misunderstanding. The staff and students returned to their normal routine. All students, including the complainants, attended his classes from March 7 to March 16 without any further incident.

Hafiz's supporters allege that when the MNA heard of the incident, he invited some local maulvis to a meeting. The meeting was reportedly attended by one Ishtiar Mazhari, a Jamiat-I-Ulema-I-Pakistan (JUP) notable of the city, and a witness named Shehbaz. The MNA reportedly called the Assistant Commissioner (AC) and asked him to order the registration of a case against the college teacher. The complainant, accompanied by Ishtiaq Azhari and his witnesses, went to the AC the next day who ordered the police to register the case.

Rao Muzaffar and other pro-Hafiz people argue that the AC could have ordered an inquiry into the case before its registration, as is normal routine in religious and political cases. "But the AC was under pressure so he obliged instantly," alleges Rao Muzaffar.

Rao Muzaffar has meanwhile secured affidavits from one of the witnesses named in the FIR saying that Hafiz Sahib never said anything that could be termed as 'blasphemy,' and that the campaign against the teacher was being run to malign him.

Moreover, 18 of the 21 college staff have signed a joint resolution absolving the teacher of all blame and testifying to his character and piety. "In view of Hafiz Sahib's past character and piety, we cannot believe that he could utter any words that could be "blasphemous," the resolution says.

But the complainant is still adamant. Fida Hussain insists that his teacher did indeed blaspheme on March 6, 1993. But he fails to justify the fact that he attended the same class for over 10 days after the incident. "The teachers said they would take action," says Fida Hussain, "so I kept attending class."

Fida is about 19 years old and comes from a poor background. He has been receiving religious instruction from his uncle since childhood, and currently lives at the Noori Mosque religious school where he is a free boarder and studies Islamic law. He is one of the

below-average students at his college and is often the butt of his classfellows' jokes, says a classfellow requesting anonymity.

The MNA, on the other hand, runs his constituency like his personal estate. He is the only MNA from Multan who is not a minister and still supports Mr Nawaz Sharif. He enjoys a great deal of influence. He managed to get his brother elected chairman of the

Multan District Council after defeating the powerful Gilani and Syed families of Multan through official patronage. His brother was reportedly nominated for the chairmanship by Mian Nawaz Sharif himself.

"The MNA uses the police to keep the people in check. Professor Imam Bux challenged his authority and got what was coming to him," says Ayaz, a friend of Hafiz Imam Bux.

Government Said Improperly Using Foreign Loans
93AS0777A Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER
in English 6 Apr 93 p 2

[Editorial: "Inefficient Utilization of Foreign Loans"]

[Text] The circumstances and factors underlying the delayed progress of implementation of public-sector projects, which are financed out of foreign aid and loans, were reportedly discussed at a meeting of the federal government officials with the representatives of the World Bank and Asian Development bank recently. The crux of the problem, which is quite often pinpointed both in the government circles and by multilateral financial institutions, is the shortfall in matching rupee funds due to perpetual revenue difficulties and as a result, the utilization of aid funds in foreign exchange runs into delays. Secondly, there is the lack of timely approval due to the cumbersome procedure adopted by the relevant government departments—both federal and provincial—including delays in feasibility studies for want of the appointment of foreign and local consultants on time, also adds to the slow-down in the implementation of these aided developmental projects. As a sequel, disbursements of the committed foreign aid are stuck up at the institutions' end, and even the disbursed loan amount remain unutilised beyond the scheduled dates set for the completion of a project.

Yet another serious cause for the delay in project implementation is stated to be the non-compliance by the government, with the conditionalities which are prescribed by the donor institutions. This appears to be by far the most important factor central to the whole framework of loan and aid commitments. The conditionalities understandably encompass macro-economic policies that are suggested or imposed by the donor institutions. The government's relatively huge budget deficit which worked out to around 7 per cent of GDP [gross domestic product] last year, it may be pointed out, explains the shortfall in rupee funds for the implementation of public-sector projects. This appears to be the sole factor that lends justifiability to donor institutions' conditionalities specially for increasing government revenues. One of the handy avenues, as quite often identified by donor institutions for raising additional funds, is the user charge covering tariffs on electricity and gas and other services. It may be pointed out that although these charges have come under substantial upward revisions annually over the last five years, yet the donor institutions seemingly continue to be insistent on extracting additional revenues from these sources. We do, however, concede that there is consistency in this demand of the donors as it is being applied on all aid recipient countries.

BUSINESS RECORDER has always been opposed to policies favouring escalation in the charges of utilities. It may be emphasised that power, gas and water constitute the basic infrastructure and thus provide a base for the process of capital formation in industry. A prohibitively high incidence in the cost of utility services would

understandably dampen new investment interest. At the same time, if these charges are time and again pushed up inflationary tendencies allround would be fuelled, which in turn would not only make life harder for common consumers but also add to cost escalation in government and private-sector projects. Thus, attempts to plug the hole of budget deficit by increasing user charges, it has been found over the last few years, have led to a spate of macro-economic distortions. A much more beneficial route would be to first plug the wastage, thefts and leaks in the utility distribution system, specially in electricity and water and to enhance the revenue intake.

On the other hand, cost escalation in the manufacturing sector has assumed new dimensions lately, mainly on account of the unabated rise in the cost of power, gas and water. These charges, excluding the cost of raw materials, have been found to have risen to a level that they constitute over 30 per cent of the manufacturing cost in non-electricity-intensive industries. The comparable ratio about ten years ago was in the region of 15 per cent. This shows how substantial must be the share of the rising utility charges in the overall rise in price inflation over these years. The industries have been quite understandably passing on this increase in their unit cost to the consumers in the local market by making proportionate increase in prices of their products.

The delay in the implementation of public-sector projects specially, in the social sector, leading to slow-down in the utilization of aid funds, is undoubtedly a matter of concern. This distortion pinpoints the weakness of our fiscal and management systems inability to absorb the loans for timely development and defeats the government consistent bid to secure foreign loans and aid, with the result that justification for new requests for loans/aid loses credibility.

The deregulation measures in the private sector, it may be pointed out, has brought about considerable improvement in the efficiency of investment activity. The privatisation of a large segment of state-owned enterprises has also considerably reduced the scope of bureaucratic red-tape involving procedures for approval of projects and sources of financing. The socio-economic projects which are covered under the Annual Development Plans continue to be the exclusive domain of bureaucratic control at federal and provincial levels. The need to tone up the procedural rigmarole for public-sector projects can hardly be overlooked.

The official statistics show that of the total foreign loan commitments or sanctions, amounting to 16 billion dollars as on June 30, 1992, the undisbursed amount if estimated at 9.913 billion dollars which constituted about 60 per cent of the total committed amount. Why such a big amount has remained undisbursed, is a mystery. The aid disbursement for the current year is shown at 2.323 billion dollars out of the committed/sanctioned amount of 3.043 billion dollars indicating that 30 per cent of the sanctioned amount remained

undisbursed. This is illustrative of the gross inefficiency in the utilization of foreign loans which unnecessarily adds up to the cost of these loans for the country to service.

Foreign Trade Deficit Said Increasing

93AS0778B Lahore *THE NATION* Supplement
in English 10 Apr 93 pp II

[Text] Pakistan's money problems will not go away. And with the budget for the fiscal year beginning on 1 July scheduled to be presented to the National Assembly in May, government policy makers are once again trying to find ways to make ends meet, says a report published in FAR-EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW.

Private economists, however, are not optimistic that the government will come up with any solutions. Many predict few changes in the new budget: more debt, more defence spending—and no relief for government finances. The budget deficit in the current fiscal year is expected to expand to Rs [Rupees] 109 billion (US\$4.1 billion), or 7.9 per cent of GDP [gross domestic product], from Rs 83 billion, or 6.5 per cent of GDP, in the previous year.

A main area of concern is government debt. Outstanding domestic borrowing is expected to amount to Rs 601 billion by the end of the current fiscal year. External debt is likely to reach U.S.\$29.8 billion.

Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz says spending on debt servicing and defence will total about Rs 172 billion in the current fiscal year, though tax revenue will amount to just Rs 160 billion. As a result, the government has had to increase borrowing. Bankers estimate that this could reach Rs 100 billion by year-end.

Private economists say the growing trade deficit is making the country's financial problems even worse. They expect the deficit for the current fiscal year to widen to US\$2.5 billion from US\$2.3 billion a year earlier.

Exports in the first half of the current fiscal year rose 11.4 per cent from a year earlier to US\$3.9 billion. The increase, however, was short of a 15 per cent growth target deemed necessary by the government to help ease the trade gap.

Agricultural exports were slowed by flooding in September that diminished crop yields. The government says cotton output in calendar 1992 was down by 3.7 million bales. Losses to the rice and maize crops are estimated at 400,000 tonnes and 300,000 tonnes.

Exports of cotton yarn in January fell 12 per cent from a year earlier to U.S.\$82 million, according to analysts, while those for cotton cloth dropped 13 per cent to U.S.\$53 million and raw cotton 35 per cent to U.S.\$22 million. In the first half of the current fiscal year, the government says rice exports declined 10 per cent to

U.S.\$194 million. These goods account for more than two-thirds of Pakistan's export earnings.

Imports into Pakistan in the first half increased 3.8 per cent from a year earlier to U.S.\$5.5 billion. Imports of petroleum and petroleum products climbed 13 per cent to U.S.\$860 million, while those for cars surged 55 per cent to U.S.\$102 million and edible oil 30 per cent to U.S.\$311 million. Machinery exports, however, fell to US\$1.39 billion from U.S.\$1.5 billion.

The government needs to turn around its money problems in the new budget, private economists say, or it will be hit with serious cash problems. They say its strategy of trimming the budget deficit by cutbacks in non-developmental spending and by stimulating foreign investment is not working fast enough. In the fiscal year ended on June 30, 1992, direct foreign investment in Pakistan totalled U.S.\$260 million. In the first five months of 1993, it totalled U.S.\$60 million.

They also point out that the outline of the government's economic plan for the next five years is unrealistic. Planners envisage a 40 per cent improvement in GDP growth and a 22 per cent increase in income per person by mid-1998. Aziz forecasts GDP in the current fiscal year to expand 6.2 per cent though private economists say 4 per cent growth is a more realistic projection.

But there is some good news on Pakistan's economic front. Heavy rains in late 1992 were good for the country's wheat crop, and the government says the June harvest will total 16.3 million tonnes, up from 14.7 million tonnes a year earlier. The bigger wheat harvest should help the trade gap by cutting imports of the grain. In the first half of the current fiscal year, wheat imports jumped 56 per cent from a year earlier to U.S.\$280 million.

Export of Manufactured Goods Said Declining

93AS0793M Lahore *THE NATION* in English
18 Apr 93 p 13

[Article by Wahab Kazimi: "Export of Manufactured Goods Falls Sharply"]

[Text] Karachi—While the total export for the month of March 1993 registered an increase of two percent over the exports of February 1993, it rose to \$5,048 million against \$4,766 million.

Export surged due to increase in export of rice, raw cotton, raw leather against these items, the export of all semi-manufactured and manufactured items fell sharply.

The major items which suffered set back during the review month were leather manufactures which export declined from \$36 million to \$17 million showing a massive decline of 100 percent. Readymade garments which had been showing symmetrical growth faced a drift and the export was down by \$4 million from \$53 million to \$49 million, bedwear from \$24 million to \$19

million; carpets and rugs \$8 million to \$6.8 million; sports goods \$17 million to \$12 million; synthetic fibres from \$41 million to \$31 million; knitwear from \$34 million to \$33 million, surgical instruments from \$13 million to \$0.30 million.

The spinning industry which has been crying for help in view of mounting recession and is afraid of full convertibility of Indian rupee is not placed as bad in the export market as projected.

The most concerning aspect is that the export from Pakistan has been of the raw material and the primary commodities which are in severe competition in the world market. Pakistan is losing substantially as the value-added goods are not being exported.

When the IJI's [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government came into power about 28 months ago, it was claimed that Pakistan export will rise to \$10 billion in 1992-1993 and the pattern of export will shift to more value-added items than the agricultural commodities. For this purpose the Prime Minister brought Abdul Aziz Haji Yaqoob, as Chairman of the Export Promotion Bureau.

But Yaqoob seems to have achieved little in correcting the trade directions. Though about nine months have passed, the total exports have remained at five billion dollars against the target of \$10 million which was set by the Ministry of Commerce and Yaqoob had given public assurance to achieve the target in an august dinner hosted by Karachi Chamber of Commerce in which the Prime Minister was the chief guest.

The imports, however, are continuously on decline and the government managers are happy that the trade gap is narrowing month by month. During March 1993, the imports were \$753 million compared to \$782 million falling by 3.7 percent. But all is not well, imports in dollar terms during July-March 1992-93 registered an increase of 3.8 percent while it rose to \$7,049 million from \$6,080 million during the corresponding period of the last year.

Two disturbing aspects have been noted on the import front. Firstly, the capital goods machinery imports is falling forcing the industrialisation to slow down. The manufacturers and the entrepreneurs have been shelving their plans of modernisation and balancing and therefore restricting to lower import of machinery. The second aspect is the increasing import of motor vehicles in CKD [Completely Knocked Down] and built up conditions. With the liberalisation of transport vehicle import certain unscrupulous elements are taking full advantage of importing built up cars and buses. This phenomenon has not only upset the foreign exchange reserves but the local manufacturers are at loss to compete with the imported vehicles.

During the past nine months July-March 1992-93, the total imports increased to \$5,048 billion against \$4,766 million during corresponding period last year. The imports have increased by \$342 million compared with

the figures of the last year. The pundits are visualising further imports of about \$3 billion on account of wheat, tea, edible oil, petroleum products and motor vehicles.

Currency Devaluation Demand of Business Community Rejected

93AS0778C Lahore *THE NATION* in English
13 Apr 93 p 10

[Article by Wahab Kazimi: "Sartaj Rules Out Currency Devaluation"]

[Text] Karachi—Federal Minister for Finance Sartaj Aziz has ruled the possibility of devaluation of Pak rupee as demanded by a section of the business community.

After the declaration of Indian convertibility of its currency and putting it at full float, the exporters had immediately reacted to the situation and asked the government to devalue the Pak rupee or make adjustments equivalent to Indian currency so that Pak exports are not affected adversely. The government, being alive to the problem immediately, took up the matter on priority basis and discussed the whole mechanism. After proper study it has been found that there is no need of devaluation of Pak currency at this stage and, moreover, the Indian rupee is gradually stabilising on the lower side. Now, the Indian rupee has come down to Rs 30 to a dollar and with passage of time, it will further stabilise equivalent to Pak rupee, our exports are not likely to be affected. This year end, we shall finish at much higher rate of export gaining 22 per cent increase as estimated, Sartaj said.

Talking to *THE NATION* at Islamic Club Function, he said that textile sector specially the spinning mills owners, no doubt have suffered small losses. But the textile mills have adequate reserves to meet the eventualities. Worldwide recession has hit the industry hard. Moreover, the devastation of three million bales of cotton due to heavy rains has actually forced the spinning mills to undergo slight losses. The profitability is reduced no doubt. We are studying the grievances but it is not at this stage to predict as what help can be given to the textile producers. He, however, said that things will start improving from August this year and the economy will be put back on rails. Pakistan economy is not as bad as reported. Our foreign exchange reserves are adequate and exports are increasing satisfactorily and in case the wheat crop comes good as expected all our menaces will be overcome. We have been upset because of loss of three million bales of cotton. Last year, we had produced 13 million bales as against ten million this year. The multiplier effect of the cotton devastation, the country has suffered serious losses. The government had to forego Rs four billion on account of export duty and Rs 3.4 billion on account of payment of remission to Agricultural Development Bank. The government will also suffer some losses on account of the fact that the spinners will not be able to repay loans and these have to be classified. Speaking on the budget deficit, he said that

it will end below Rs 100 billion by June 30, 1993. We are trying hard to close the deficit at seven per cent as allowed by the IMF. In case we get GDP at Rs 14,000 billion as targeted and the deficit ends at Rs 95 billion, we are in a happy position and there is no cause to worry. He said the budget deficit has mounted because of uncertainties and the non-availability of certain funds. The monetary exercise carried out reveals that things are under control and the mounting deficit will not have any serious imbalance on prices. Talking about inflation and its rate at the close of the fiscal year, the Minister said that our calculations are that it will remain within single digit. One index reveals that it is 9.5 per cent and the other slightly exceeding 10 per cent. However, in every case, the inflation will not exceed into double digit.

Talking about the shortfall in revenue collections, he said he will be holding a meeting with Customs here on Tuesday and discuss the whole situation. According to a rough estimate, the shortfall will be about Rs three to four billion. This amount will be in addition to exemption of Export Duty in which the government has foregone Rs 4.2 billion. Though the Customs Duty has slightly fallen short of targets because of rationalisation of tariff and giving incentives to importers of industrial machinery. But we have exceeded in collection of Income Tax. We had fixed the target of Rs 32 billion for the whole year and we hope that it would increase to Rs 35 billion at the year end. Till now, we have collected more than Rs 24 billion which is a record. This year the Income Tax collection will be 40 per cent higher than the last year. The introduction of Turnover Tax, Withholding Tax and other Central Excise Duties have brought remarkable revenue collections. He paid tribute to the Income Tax collecting authorities to gain this up-hill task. Replying to a question on political instability in the country, he said that things most likely will get right and the normalcy will restore. There is nothing to worry about. As a matter of fact, the disinformation cell has spoiled the whole situation.

Economic Mismanagement Alleged

93AS0777J Karachi DAWN in English 8 Apr 93 p 7

[Article by Sultan Ahmad: "Economic Mismanagement"]

[Text] The World Bank and the IMF have been urging Pakistan to take two steps to improve its external borrowing capability: Reduce the budget deficit and increase the users' charges. It appears the government will have to act drastically in both the areas as the new budget to be presented in June is expected to push up the cost of living in a big way in an already inflation-smothered economy.

But the government has clearly other options to meet the basic demands of such agencies and spare the consumers of such essential services, like power and water, from such additional imposts.

While the need for reducing the expanding budget deficit, which has risen to a peak 8.7 per cent of the GDP [gross domestic product], is indisputable, the government has been reluctant to raise users' charges for power, water, gas etc., to the extent wanted by the international agencies for fear of rousing the people. But the promises made to them to strengthen the finances of the organisations managing them without making steep increases in their rates have largely failed.

If we did not want to expand the capacities of WAPDA [Water & Power Development Authority], including KESC [Karachi Electric Supply Corporation], or the various water boards, beginning with the Karachi Water and Sewerage Board [KWSB], and we had not asked them for large loans we would have left ourselves free to have whatever rates we chose. But we have been approaching the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank [ADB] for large loans, had obtained plenty in the past and want far more. Both the banks have prescribed, for example, that the WAPDA should be able to raise 40 per cent of the development funds, while they will provide 60 per cent. But as WAPDA, and also the KESC, has not been able to raise the 40 per cent of the development funds, while they will provide 60 per cent. But as WAPDA, and also the KESC, has not been able to raise the 40 per cent funds in good time the external loans are too slow in coming. The banks insist that Pakistan should raise the users' charges to mobilise the additional funds as a measure of last resort.

If power production, distribution and bill collection were managed well, and if there was no theft and waste of power on a large-scale, WAPDA would have had large surplus funds. But theft and wastage of power in WAPDA is high. It has come down from about 35 per cent but it suffered a transmission loss of 9.9 per cent and distribution loss of 12.1 per cent—a total of 22 per cent last year, Jam Mohammad Yusuf, Minister for Power and Water told the National Assembly last August. The loss of KESC was even higher: 4 per cent transmission loss and 20.1 per cent distribution loss—a total of 24.10 per cent. In fact, the loss of KESC has been rising. It was 20.80 per cent in 1989-90 and 23.80 per cent in 1990-91 and 24.10 per cent thereafter. According to another report the power loss of KESC had risen to 26 per cent.

The Minister had also told the NA [National Assembly] that WAPDA lost Rs [Rupees] 5.46 billion and KESC Rs. 2.89 billion due to power loss last year. A convention of electrical engineers in Lahore had urged that the power loss be brought down to 10 to 12 per cent in accordance with international rates, but Pakistan seems to be moving in the opposite direction: the higher the power rates, the larger the power thefts and corruption within the organisations.

These organisations suffer from massive over-staffing. Managing director Mazhar Hussain of KESC said recently he could do very well with 7,000 workers but he had 13,000 workers. The expenses of KESC were high

because of overtime, heavy medical bills and transport charges. As a result, he said an average worker got a package larger than his own Rs. 11,000 p.m.

On the one side there is massive theft and waste of power and on the other heavy break-down losses. Power break-downs in KESC last year were stated to have cost Rs. 450 million. Then the power bills of the major consumers, including government departments and influential large consumers, can't be collected in time. WAPDA's outstanding bills were recently said to be Rs. 10 billion.

If as a result of such failures and mismanagement or dominance of the unions, the power rates are increased, as has been done often—26 per cent in 1981-82 and 18 per cent in 1989 and to a lesser extent in other years, the corruption and power theft too increased. Now it is not only the larger consumers who are doctoring the metres to lower their electric bills but also the KESC and WAPDA staff themselves who offer to do that and ensure absolute official protection.

The situation in respect of water is far worse, particularly Karachi. Many who pay do not get the water and others who do not pay get the water. The staff of the Water Board itself is said to be behind the water shortage partly, as they own many of the water tankers or benefit from them otherwise. The rulers and officials are not interested in ensuring proper water supply as they are able to get all the water they need by tankers. And tankers are criss-crossing the city with water at high speeds taking up more of the road space and adding to the aerial pollution. Following the doubling of the water rates recently, the supply of water to many areas has dwindled, and the move to have water desalination plants, beginning with Defence Housing Authority has not materialised.

In Karachi the shortage of water is now to the extent of 100 million gallons per day. The loss of water is also the same. As the water Board is not able to plug the leaks or check the pilferage it is asking for more and more World Bank loans and it is asking for raising the water rates as the theft and mismanagement could not be checked. That means still higher water rates, and even less water for those who pay.

The fact is that higher users' charges alone will not ensure efficiency or honesty in the organisation concerned. Between two budgets the telephone call fee was raised from Rs. 1 to Rs. 2 and monthly and other fees were also raised. Even before that the telephone department was making a net profit of 300 per cent, and now the excise duty alone is 75 paise per call. Do we get a good telephone service for that? No. In addition the subscribers are sent highly inflated bills without any protection and they are made to pay. The services of a senior vigilance officer used briefly are reported to have been dispensed with as the telephone officers did not want to explain the inflated bills to him.

In such a situation the remedy for the poor resources mobilisation of WAPDA and the water boards is not

raising their charges but introducing efficiency and economy measures in them and checking the theft and wastage altogether. Earlier we were told the computers will reduce the theft and wastage, but now the computers have fallen into the hands of the men misusing these services and profiting by outright theft. A good tool is as good as its user. The reverse seldom happens.

There is strong opposition to privatisation of large utility agencies and other service organisations like the PIA [Pakistan International Airlines] and PNSC [Pakistan National Shipping Corporation]. Is it not necessary that if they continue in the public sector their administrative structure and staff strength should be rationalised, surplus staff shifted elsewhere and the heavy over-time payments, large medical expenses or the high administrative cost be reduced? Otherwise these public sector organisations will continue to disserve the people at a high cost.

If instead of rooting out the massive corruption in such organisations and eliminating the proverbial inefficiency and wholesale waste, their rates are raised in the manner urged by the World Bank or the Asian Development Bank, what would be the result? Production costs would go up and export costs rise in a period of global recession. And if to facilitate exports the rupee is devalued further it will set in motion a chain of developments that will hurt the economy and people as a whole.

There is a good deal of talk in respect of what we should be doing as we enter the 21st century seven years from now. If we cannot slim down public sector organisations like the WAPDA and other essential service organisations there will be mounting pressure from international agencies and other donors to privatise them. And at some stage the government will be forced to succumb to that pressure as the economy drifts from bad to worse and the need for larger loans becomes compelling.

The government should also realise that as it goes on increasing the charges for power, telephones, water etc., its own administrative cost rises and the budget deficit becomes larger. It is a folly to bridge the budgetary gap through absurd measures like the insistence of the Customs that the Jinnah Post-Graduate Medical Centre [JPMC] should pay customs duty of Rs. 13 million on medical equipment costing Rs. 80 million imported through a French Credit Scheme. How can the government insist on payment of import duties by a public hospital while a private hospital like the Aga Khan Hospital enjoys similar exemptions? And how can the Customs insist on JPMC paying heavy import duties when the Prime Minister, governors and chiefs of staff of the defence services are free to import a luxury car each of any price as personal cars tax-free, apart from the fleets of cars obtained tax-free for official use? But then, the Customs held up the snorkel imported by the KMC [Karachi Metropolitan Corporation] to fight fires in high-rise buildings for about a year, insisting the KMC pay heavy duty on that as well. Evidently the Customs

have been made to act tough in the wrong areas in the name of resource mobilisation.

Indisputably before the government embarks on further resource mobilisation following the recommendations of the Resource Mobilisation Commission headed by Senator Mazhar Ali, it ought to take steps to present the loss and wastage of the revenues already collected and actually collect in full what is due to it under the existing rules. The loss of the kind various public sector organisations, including WAPDA, KESC and some water boards suffer has to be checked and the excess staff barred from misusing their resources.

The right step for the government now is to set up a committee of senior officials, management experts and chartered accountants to determine the staff strength of various public sector bodies, including WAPDA, PIA, and Pakistan Steel. Let it begin with organisations with over 10,000 workers, then come down to those with 5,000 and finally those with less. Even if such workers cannot be removed from their offices let them as well as the country know the actual strength of the staff needed in each organisation and the size of the surplus staff. And that would be the beginning of the slimming of the public sector that would stay public now, and make it more efficient and economic.

If such steps are not taken we will have an administrative pattern in which the people get too little for the taxes they pay and even less for the rising user charges they are forced to part with.

Imbalances Seen in Economic Growth

93AS0793C Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER
in English 12 Apr 93 p 2

[Editorial: "Pakistan's Economic Performance"]

[Text] A latest review of Pakistan's economic performance, by the World Bank, is reported to have pinpointed both satisfactory and disturbing areas in the country's economy. While the economic growth as highlighted by the encouraging growth rate of GDP [gross domestic product], continued to be a satisfactory feature as noted in the World Bank study, the weak spots included failure of the government to reduce fiscal deficit as also the current account deficit in balance of payments. At the same time, social sector indicators left much to be desired and the overall scenario in so far as poverty alleviation is concerned, remained conspicuously distressing. Thus, the World Bank analysis rather confirms the long-established trend in Pakistan's economy in that while the economic growth has continued to show an impressive rate, its overall benefits, as could justifiably be expected in the form of improvement in vital ratios to GDP relating to savings, investment, tax receipts, exports, etc., in addition to persistence of a widening trend in the twin deficits of budget and balance of payments, have eluded materialisation. As a net result, the social sector remains the worst sufferer due to

poor level of investment in health education, civic amenities etc., in rural areas. In view of this, the lofty ideas about human resource development, have remained on paper rather than being put to practical implementation. Thus, if a huge majority of population is left with no choice but to live in poverty and deprivations, any appreciation of the annual rate of economic growth, would carry little meaning. The situation brings one to the conclusion that the rate of investment in development activity shall have to be substantially increased so that the country's capability to move more rapidly in its accomplishments in the social sector, could be reinforced to achieve still higher rate of growth—twice the rate that has been achieved over the last 10 years.

The country's markedly weak potential for resource mobilisation is by far the hard core of the problem underlying many difficulties ranging from large budget deficit to low rates of savings and investment. As reportedly noted in the World Bank review, despite increase in investment in absolute terms over the last few years, its ratio is stuck up at 18.1 to 18.3 per cent to GNP since 1987-88 while savings rate, notwithstanding some improvement, continues to be low at around 12 to 12.4 per cent of GDP though it registered impressive improvement from 8.8 per cent in 1986-87. The national savings accounted for 71.9 per cent of total investment in 1991-92 showing deterioration from 75.7 per cent in 1987-88. Thus, the ratio of external resources to total investment 1991-92 worked out to 28 per cent—higher than 24.3 per cent in 1987-88. It may be pointed out that the ratio of domestic savings to GDP in most of the South East Asian countries ranged from 30 to 35 per cent while among South Asian nations, India's savings rate/GDP was 21 per cent.

The World Bank review has appreciated the rate of export growth in Pakistan which worked out to 14 to 15 per cent over the last three years. On the face of it, the growth in exports has undoubtedly shown a fairly encouraging rate. But what is disturbing to note is that export earnings financed the import bill only to the extent of 70 to 75 per cent, and that brings to fore the weakness of our export efforts. The adverse terms of trade showing deterioration of 14 per cent since 1988, neutralised the growth in exports in so far as improvement in the country's capability to achieve a balance in trade payments is concerned. The protectionist trade policies of the developed world particularly against the developing countries, definitely throttled Pakistan's capacity to rapidly increase its exports of textile items which constitute the main plank in the country's export potential. This aspect should have been taken into account in the World Bank review.

The government's budget deficit which ranged between 7.5 per cent to 8 per cent of GDP against the sustainable ratio of 4.8 per cent as stressed by the IMF and the World Bank, has been identified as a central threat to price stability, pace of investment and exports. There can be no two opinions on this conclusion. The government is faced with two-pronged difficulties. In the first

place it has not been able to reduce current expenditure in the budget to a desired extent, and on the other hand, tax revenue has not increased with a satisfactory growth rate. The tax revenue in terms of its ratio to GDP has remained unchanged at around 13 to 14 per cent over the last few years. This ratio appears to compare favorably with the corresponding ratio in South East Asian and South Asian countries. It may be pointed out that the corresponding ratio for India is 9 per cent. In fact Pakistan had the highest ratio among South Asian countries. In so far as South East Asian nations are concerned their tax revenue ranged between 14 to 17 per cent to their respective GDPs. What is startling is, that Pakistan topped in its budgetary expenditure as a ratio to GDP which worked out to 25 per cent in 1990 as compared to 13.4 to 21 per cent in respect of South East Asian countries and compared with 14.8 per cent for India.

The distortions facing Pakistan's economy in several areas, would have to be attended to for their removal in the overall task to achieve a balanced and healthy growth in the vital sectors.

Government Cooperation With Privatized Sectors Seen Crucial

93AS0777G Karachi DAWN in English 3 Apr 93 p 7

[Article by Sultan Ahmad: "Privatisation & the State"]

[Text] As the privatisation makes rapid headway in Pakistan, and larger institutions like the WAPDA [Water & Power Development Authority], Pakistan Telecommunications Corporation [PTC], Railways, PIA [Pakistan Airlines] and PNSC [Pakistan National Shipping Corporation] are earmarked for eventual hand-over, and de-regulation gains momentum, and time has come for a breather to consider the ultimate consequences of this unrestrained pursuit.

It is true that we are not alone in the world in embarking on such a course. We are a part of a big group of nations doing likewise, and indisputably, as in many other developing countries, the machinery of state is corrupt, inefficient and wasteful and tends to get worse. It is slow-moving and bound down by an excess of needless red tape, and tends to move in contrary directions simultaneously and stultifies itself in the process.

As in many other poor countries with a veneer of the super-rich that dominates it, the country does not have the means to meet the basic needs of the masses. And the people are not ready to pay more taxes to enable the government to do better in view of its past track record and dim faith in its promises of a better future. And when the old rich with their inherited landed wealth do not pay income tax and the new super-rich is almost equally evasive, the people do not feel the urge to make greater fiscal sacrifices.

The government hence wants to transfer more and more of its obligations or functions or obligations to the private sector and let the people buy whatever services

they need if they have the cash for that. The market forces are to determine the extent of services the private sector will produce and the law of supply and demand decide at what prices such services can be available to the people.

It is for us now to decide in our own context how much of the obligations of the government can be handed to the private sector, and what it can really deliver and deliver well on the basis of its track record in Pakistan.

Is the private sector in Pakistan a band of angels waiting in the wings to deliver to us in good order and at fair prices what the state cannot? Its critics may point to the profiteering by the private sector on the holy month of Ramazan as proof of its moral blight and social irresponsibility. In the U.S. President Reagan spoke of the "magic of the market" before he embarked on his supply-side economics. But in Pakistan the government has been accusing the private sector of massive tax evasion, denial of fair dividends to their share holder, unethical business practices, unfair dealings with their workers, large scale smuggling, including a horrendous heroin trade, and lately of obtaining billions of rupees as export rebates on exports which they did not actually make.

If more and more of the state's basic functions are transferred to the private sector, and it is enabled to make money and own too much, will it become a cleaner, more upright and efficient sector? In the stage of our economic development, our capitalist class is rather new. Most of them are yesterday's shopkeepers or small traders, and their children accustomed to a high rate of profit. They are not the kind of class which exists in the U.S. or the West as a whole, who despite their dubious or deplorable past have set up large foundations to promote higher education, including major universities, scientific research, as Alfred Nobel did in Scandinavia, or the arts. While a few Pakistani capitalists have set up small foundations with limited objectives, primarily because of the tax relief they obtain, others are in the quick profit-maximising game, and have done nothing for public good.

Can such a private sector take on most of the obligations of the government for public welfare and deliver in the manner envisaged or promised? It is said that the failings of the domestic private sector are now sought to be made up by inviting more of foreign participation in our economic development. But I doubt we will have enough of foreign exchange to pay all those South Korean, Italian, Singaporean and Turkish road builders—and more who are to sign in—with the kind of profit they expect, and others who may take over the PTC, ports and other large units in Pakistan, with our modest export earnings and falling home remittances. Already the dividend payments have risen to 1.269 billion dollars and the cost of foreign debt servicing is around 1.7 billion dollars in a period of dwindling foreign aid. And if to add to that we will have to pay far more to the various foreign contractors, new foreign investors outside the special

zones and those who buy shares of Pakistani companies, the overall service payments can become fearsomely large. And our exportable surplus is not so large in a country with a large population, a high birth rate and conspicuous consumption, preferably of imported items.

This is an area in which the government should walk warily, although we need better highways and the foreigners indisputably build better than our people, except possibly the army. Anyway, increasing foreign involvement and investment without clear perception of what it can achieve, deliver and pay for itself in foreign exchange, is not the kind of unmixed blessing that is now officially touted to be. Hence the foreign investors are wary despite our desperate wooing and are not rushing in.

Of course, in the process of going all out for the market, as if a magic cure vests there, we forget we are an ideological state, one of the two in the world along with Israel, while the Hindu fundamentalists in India want to do likewise. When it comes to politics we refuse to separate it from religion and maintain that Islam is an all-encompassing religion. But when it comes to the economy it is officially maintained that the solution lies in privatisation and supremacy of market forces. So the principles of Islam have been made to take a beating not only from our squabbling and scheming politicians but also from the evangelists of the market who swear by the law of supply and demand, and not by moral or national values in a much heralded ideological state.

It is equally relevant to ask that if the state machinery is incompetent and corrupt to manage to deliver the economic services, including maintaining the railways, the postal and telecommunications systems, can it be absolutely free from this dual vice in the areas of organising the defence of the country, the security of the state managed by the Interior Ministry and the home departments of provinces and administering justice to all, and quickly? It can't be that some departments of the state are too tainted while others are absolutely or substantially free. We have had ample experience of the police and super-police forces and the judiciary with its varied weaknesses.

The state now says that it cannot manage its economic services efficiently or economically and hence will hand them over to the private sector and then regulate them diligently. If corruption and inefficiency have vitiated the entire official spectrum, how can we be sure that it comes to regulating the varied private sector functions the state will be altogether efficient and utterly upright? That means that poor or corrupt regulation of the economy will leave us in a shambles. We do not have an infected and utterly uninfected sector in the government to choose from safely or readily.

As the state reduces its role not only the people will reduce their dependence on the state but also to some extent their loyalty to the state, depending on how well or poorly the public sector performs, or how effective and

fair is the state's regulatory mechanism. Now if the people have to have their own security arrangements at a high cost or through private security agencies, if they have to buy water as the water system is failing or set up generators as the power supply system is not dependable, and if they have to invest in costly cellular telephones for communication as the telephone system has become too inefficient and corrupt, a certain detachment from the state and increasing reliance on the monetary power of the individuals comes into play.

When it comes to transportation there are few buses and trains and PIA is too costly to fly in a poor country. And Mr Nawaz Sharif's taxi revolution is a costly revolution as the minimum fare of the smallest taxi is Rs [Rupees] 7.50 per mile. So each man has to have his own car or other forms of conveyance by any means and when he drives after paying very heavy import duty for his car and increasing annual registration fee, he finds the roads are too bad, and excessively congested and there is no parking space, and traffic regulation is too poor and riddled with corruption.

The average middle class man in Karachi lives in fear of the dimension of the electric bill or telephone bill he may get next month. If the billing is excessive there is no relief or rectification. But if he has fat bills because of excessive use he can bribe the staff of both the agencies and get very low bills while others are billed for it. The premium on dishonesty is very heavy, while honesty has become a costly drag.

And in the area of education the people are asked to rely more and more on privately catered education at high cost. And it is not quality education that the children get for the high fees they pay. In fact, an increasing number of government officials are taking to corruption to pay the higher fees to private schools and then send them abroad for higher education as their earnings from corruption rise.

And culturally the people are tending to rely more on dish antennas and VCRs because of the kind of tedious TV we have on which Ministers and religious preachers are lecturing utterly contrary to the manner they actually behave. Parks have been turned into venues for weddings and art galleries are coming to mean private commercial galleries. While cinema halls are closing down, public theatre buildings hardly exist.

In such a society the enthusiasm for the state is bound to wane and not only the government but also the country is denounced often in private talk. Jean Jacques Rousseau wrote in his famous "Social Contract" that "man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains," but in Pakistan they are not in visible chains except millions of bonded labour, including their mortgaged children at work but live in fear, fear of all kinds, physical, financial, psychological and fear of the future due to constantly rising inflation and other afflictions.

In the U.S. it was easy for President Kennedy to say: "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you

can do for your country." In affluent America they have social security, quality education for all, good roads, dependable communication systems, large parks and public supported arts etc. Can we say the same thing of Pakistan where each man is getting to be only as good as his money, regardless of how he made it, and how much he harmed the country in the process?

If we create a society in which money is everything, or the only thing that matters, the people will be compelled to make it by any means in a game of survival. And corruption quickly escalates into crime, including large scale trade in heroin. Not only the frustrated young have taken to crimes but also cops of all levels. The result will be the steady erosion of the loyalty to the state, rejection of the moorings of the ideological state and increasing anarchy. The state cannot abjure its primary duty to its citizens and turn them over to the private sector and expect the people to be loyal to it. A strong Pakistan needs a strong social contract between both the state and the individual. And that can be ignored only at grave peril to the state.

Privatization Said Lacking Secure Legal Basis

93AS0777E Karachi DAWN Supplement in English
13 Apr 93 pp I, III

[Article by Haider Rizvi: "Lack of Constitutional Cover to Privatisation Creates Anxiety"]

[Text] As speculations are rife about acute dissent in the ruling party amid reports that President Ghulam Ishaq Khan has turned critical about certain aspects of the privatisation programme, there appears to be a great deal of anxiety prevailing in the Privatisation Commission.

"What would happen if President Ishaq chose to dismiss the Nawaz Sharif government? How is it possible for Nawaz Sharif now to give constitutional cover to the working of the Privatisation Commission?"

These two mind-boggling questions were on everybody's lips in the premises of the Privatisation Commission when I happened to be there last Monday.

"The members of the Commission are worried... They are scared of accountability," said a source while referring to the state of uneasiness caused to the Chairman, Gen (retd) Saeed Qadir and his colleagues by the recent statement of Mr Hamid Nasir Chatta against Nawaz Sharif's privatisation programme.

"The President has already sent numerous letters to the Ministry of Finance enquiring about certain controversial deals by the Commission," says a source who closely monitors the working of the Commission adding: "They (the Commission members) seemed to be least hopeful of getting constitutional protection to their activities as under the present circumstances the ruling party is not in a position to show a two-third majority in the National Assembly required for bringing any amendment in the Constitution."

Other sources maintain that apart from the Opposition, and Muslim League dissidents, certain quarters from within the government and bureaucracy were also demanding action against the Commission Chairman and members for selling off vital industry in the public sector to those who tended to create monopolies.

These quarters, according to the sources, are of the view that privatisation of certain industries led to concentration of wealth into fewer hands who created abnormal price hike which amounts to clear violation of Articles 18 and 19 of the Constitution.

The experts on economic and financial matters attach great significance to the statement against privatisation issued by former federal minister Hamid Nasir Chatta on April 29. At a Press conference he held in the capital soon after his resignation from the Cabinet along with another minister Anwar Saifullah, Chatta accused the Prime Minister of having bypassed the cabinet on matters related to the privatisation programme.

"Although approval of the cabinet had been sought for the privatisation, its implementation was never discussed," Chatta told reporters while explaining why he chose to quit the Sharif cabinet. Observers believe whatever Chatta uttered during his Press conference had already been endorsed by the President, albeit not openly.

When DAWN approached Gen Qadir to give his views on the issue of the constitutional cover to his actions as Privatisation Commission's Chairman, his assistant came out of his room, saying: "sorry, Sahib is busy, he cannot see you. He says he is busy." But later it turned out that he was sitting in his office all alone and not "busy" at all and that he had decided not to see any journalist from DAWN.

The General is on record as having claimed till the end of last year that getting constitutional cover to privatisation was no problem for him as then he was quite sure of JI's [Jamaat-i-Islami] two-third majority in the Lower and Upper Houses of the Parliament despite the fact that one of the IJI's [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] strong partners, MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement], had already been forced to part ways. What does he think right now can be anybody's guess.

The sources say although the Commission has announced to hold the fifth round of open auction for the sale of at least 15 more public sector units, there are strong indications that very few buyers would turn up at the Commission office as almost all of these are sick units which have been running into losses.

The units scheduled for auction in the third week of this month include Bela Engineering, General Refractories, Karachi; Javedan Cement, Thatta Cement, Harnai Woolen Mills, A & B Industries, Multan, E&M Mills, Maqbool Ghee Mills, Universal Ghee Mills, Morafco Industries, Punjab Ghee Mills, Shahdad Kot Textiles Mills, Larkana Sugar Mills, and PIA Shavers.

Surprisingly, this does not include Sindh Engineering Ltd which was handed over to Sardar Ashraf D. Baloch as a consequence of his being the highest bidder but later confiscated by the Commission due to reasons better known to the Chairman and other members. According to sources, Sardar Ashraf D. Baloch was late by four hours in submitting due amount on date fixed by the Commission sometime back in the third week of last month. The Commission refused to accept that and resumed possession of the unit.

It is believed that now negotiations are going on between the Chairman, Saeed Qadir, and Mehran Motors Ltd which was the bidder during the last round of action. But a commission official claimed that the decision of repossessing Sindh Engineering was taken by the Cabinet Committee with a view to providing financial assistance to the Pakistan Automobile Co which is confronted with the weak financial position. "It is unlikely that the commission would be selling off this unit in the near future," he said

The Commission has so far sold off 72 out of 108 state-owned enterprises targetted for privatisation with the total receipts by the end of last year amounting to Rs [Rupees] 4,207 billion. Against the total bid value amounting to Rs 8,033.33 million of the 51 units, the Commission has received only about 50 per cent of total value i.e. Rs 3,854.82 million.

The major units privatised so far include five automobiles units, eight cement units, five chemical plants, one fertilizer unit, four engineering units, 11 vegetable ghee mills, 12 roti plants and five rice mills.

According to sources, out of these only 10 units were purchased by recognisable names including employees while the rest of the units went to those who had no declared source of wealth nor were they asked to do so.

Oil Reserves Said Good for Another Twenty Years

93AS0776H Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES
in English 13 Apr 93 p 10

[Article: "Pakistan's Oil Gas Reserves To Last 15-20 Years Only"]

[Text] Islamabad, April 12: A day will come when fossil fuel will appear to be a thing of the past and some future generations will say... "Once upon a time, oil and gas used to be there."

Total proven fossil fuel (coal, oil and gas) reserves in the country are around 1200 million TCE (Tonne Coal Equivalent) only and in spite of extremely small per

capita energy consumption of about 25 TCE per annum, the existing proven reserves will be exhausted in roughly 15 to 20 years leaving nothing for the future generations.

Pakistan is a low income country facing serious difficulties in meeting its rapidly growing energy demand because of its poor energy resource base, high cost of energy imports and shortage of capital for energy investments.

Per capita consumption of energy and electricity in the country has been 230 Kwh and 202 Kg oil equivalent, respectively against 10,598 Kwh and 7,402 Kg oil equivalent in North America.

As regards the energy consumption in the country, the following facts have been extremely alarming:

- * About 6 per cent households are using oil for cooking.
- * Around 5.1 per cent of total households are using gas for cooking.
- * Remaining 88 per cent are using non-commercial fuels like wood, dungcake etc.
- * Total electrified houses are about 31 per cent (71 per cent of urea and 15 per cent of rural houses).

In rural areas 85 per cent of household are using oil for lighting purposes.

- * More than one fourth of energy used is in form of non-commercial fuels.
- * Frequent load-shedding (electricity and gas) is causing a loss of about two billion U.S. dollars annually.

As one of the lowest income developing countries, Pakistan is beset with very serious energy supply difficulties arising from fast growing demand of commercial energy, poor energy resource base and high cost of imported energy.

Solution to this critical situation lies in all out efforts for indigenization of nuclear programme, particularly when the developed countries have put a complete ban on transfer of technology in nuclear science and technology.

Nuclear energy can play a very significant role for the economic development of Pakistan. Fossil fuels especially oil and gas should be preserved for petrochemicals and hydrocarbons (clothing and food).

This additional supply of power will result in accelerated industrial growth, help improve agricultural output, make available the latest techniques in nuclear medicine and radiotherapy, raise the living standards of people and stimulate growth of science and technology.

Unfortunately, this potential remains largely unrealised due to numerous factors. Political instability, destructive aspects of nuclear energy, lack of industrial infrastructure and proper planning and difficulties to assimilate the available technical know-how, requirements of high investments.

The situation demanded serious efforts to overcome these problems so that nuclear energy could also be used in the region, suffering from an acute shortage of alternate energy sources.

Per capita energy consumption determines the standard of living of a nation. This figure for Pakistan is one-tenth of the world average and one sixtieth of the U.S. per capita energy consumption.

The world population is increasing at an alarming rate while it is now taking less than 100 years to add an additional billion. It used to take much longer times during the initial phases. In days to come, this interval is expected to become even smaller resulting in a real energy crisis.

The rate of consumption of energy per person is increasing at a rate much higher than that of the population growth. These two growth rates together are putting great strain on the existing fossil fuel reserves.

According to predictions, the economically available oil and gas reserves will not last more than a few decades. The coal reserves are expected to last somewhat longer.

The additional energy sources which could be developed are nuclear, both fission and fusion. As the existing sources diminish, the new ones should emerge with increasing contributions in order to keep the existing industries going and at the same time to meet the increasing demands due to increasing population and energised requirements.—APP

Joint Industrial Ventures With China Planned

93AS0793B Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER
in English 14 Apr 93 p 2

[Editorial: "Prospects of Joint Venture With China"]

[Text] The current visit of a markedly broad-based, 50-member trade delegation from China with a programme to organise a trade exhibition in Karachi in order to display a wide range of Chinese products, cannot but be rated as a significant event in the fairly long history of Pak-China relationship particularly in so far as economic cooperation between the two countries is concerned. What is specially noteworthy is the emphasis on the aim of promoting joint venture projects in

industry between the two countries, which was reportedly placed by the leader of the Chinese trade delegation Guo Huiqing in her talk to the press. The leader of the delegation is reported to be the General Manager, Consultec—a public-sector corporation of China engaged in extending consultancy services in the development of industries in China. This corporation is organising an exhibition of mostly Chinese engineering and heavy machinery items.

It may be pointed out that Pakistan, at the present juncture, is engrossed in attracting foreign investment, and in this context, the exhibition of Chinese plants and machinery, would serve as a venue for the possibilities that Pakistan can explore in its industrialisation programme, for using the most modern Chinese plants and machinery. Further, an open offer from the Chinese delegation to participate in joint venture projects, underlines China's positive posture to make investment in Pakistan's industrial sector which may come in the shape of the supply of machinery. It may be recalled that China has been quite active in the development of heavy machinery industry in Pakistan in the public sector in addition to its participation in the establishment of power generating units. The latest project in which China is an active participant, is the development of Saindak mines in Balochistan.

Trade exhibitions are generally held for the purpose of selling/exporting goods to a country where such an exhibition is organised. But the trade exhibition by the Chinese trade delegation will be different in its ultimate aim—to seek joint venture arrangements with Pakistani investors. However, the booking of orders for different types of Chinese machinery and plants by local industries, outside the scope of any joint venture arrangements, cannot be ruled out. It is well known that machinery/plants manufactured in China are priced generally lower than the price of similar types of machinery from other countries and thus, the Chinese trade delegation would have an opportunity to promote the sale of its machinery in Pakistan.

The leader of the Chinese trade delegation reportedly identified quite a number of industries in which, China has the capability to promote the establishment of these industries in Pakistan. One such industry relates to manufacture of textile spinning machinery, about which, certain previous trade delegations from China, had also expressed their willingness to offer technical know-how and equity investment for the establishment of textile spinning machinery manufacturing facilities. However, since the import of textile machinery is freely allowed under any mode of financing, the importance of establishing a plant locally to manufacture textile machinery, was relegated to the background. A public-sector corporation in Pakistan, engaged in assembly-manufacture of

textile spinning machinery with technical collaboration from a German firm, could not make any significant progress due particularly to the government's policy to allow imports of this machinery without any restrictions and also at low rates of import duty.

The scenario in the country's textile sector is fast changing. Due to difficulties faced by the spinning industry to expand the export of cotton yarn in terms of volume as also value-wise, in the face of recent recession in the international yarn market, the strategy in the development/expansion of textile industry would have to be changed. The policy to facilitate conditions for the establishment of new spinning units deserves a review

keeping in view the need for a greater supply of higher quality cotton yarn in the home market so that the textile industry could be geared to manufacture and export higher value-added textile products.

Against this background, development of facilities for manufacturing textile spinning machinery and its components, in collaboration with Chinese manufacturers, may be given due importance. This facility may be geared to manufacture components and spares, for catering to BMR in the existing mills. Other industries like food processing, fruit preservation, dyes and pigment manufacturing, etc., can also be developed in the private sector with Chinese participation.

Prototype Jet Trainer Aircraft Displayed

93AS0777C Karachi DAWN in English 16 Apr 93 p 6

[Article: "Flight Demonstration of K-8 Aircraft"]

[Text] Rawalpindi, April 8: A first flight demonstration of the Karakoram-8, a prototype jet trainer aircraft, was held at the PAF [Pakistan Air Force] base, Chaklala, here on Thursday.

The ceremony was attended by the Federal Minister for Defence Production, Mir Hazar Khan Bijarani, the Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff committee, Gen Shamim Alam Khan; the Chief of Air Staff, Farooq Feroze Khan and senior officers of the three services.

Earlier, at the briefing, Air Commodore Tariq pointed out the salient features of the Karakoram-8.

He said the light trainer aircraft was designed by the Pakistan Air Force and built in China, with 75 to 25 per cent collaboration, respectively, of China and Pakistan.

Commodore Tariq said the aircraft had fool-proof system and mechanism comparable to other light aircraft of the world in speed, load factor, fuel consumption, endurance, etc.

He disclosed that up to 1994, Pakistan would be able to build 25 per cent of the K-8 aircraft in the country.

By 1998, with the endeavours of the Pakistan Aeronautical Complex, Pakistani would be able to manufacture the K-8 aircraft completely, he added.

He said that the marketing and selling of this aerobatic aircraft would also take place which is more useful than other light aircraft of this kind.

Later, the chief guest witnessed the first flight demonstration of the aircraft at the PAF base runways.

The jet aircraft has incredible speed of 807 km/h with modern facilities and fully automatic system, environment control system, and auxilliary services systems, besides easy support and maintenance, state of art avionics, hydraulically operated wheel brake and nose wheel steering, and high mission availability.

Federal Minister for Defence Production Mir Hazar Khan Bijarani termed this achievement of the Pakistani designers as a milestone.

He hoped that in future Pakistan have capability to manufacture this aircraft in the country.

Chief of the Air Force Chief Marshal Farooq Feroz Khan expressed his satisfaction over the manufacturing of this aircraft.

Similar words of praise were also expressed by the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, Gen Shamim Alam Khan.—PPI

Lack of Capability in Indigenous Arms Production Cited

93AS0793H Karachi DAWN in English 18 Apr 93 p 15

[Article by Humayun Akhtar: "Indigenous Arms Production"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Secretary of Defence Production had recently deplored our business sector's lack of desired interest in the offer of the government to put up industry for the manufacture of defence items. It is indeed a pathetic state of affairs.

However, the point is; do our bureaucrats understand the nuances of establishing an industry in the defence sector? It seems that they are either really ignorant of the intricacies and realities of indigenous production of defence items or are knowingly kidding themselves.

Economic advantages are often evoked as arguments in favour of establishing local defence industries, in addition to the perceived political advantages of becoming self-sufficient in weapons procurement. It is said that locally produced weapons will result in budget savings and savings in the foreign exchange. In reality, the evidence available is contrary to this idea, at least as it applies to modern weapons using the latest technology. For a developing country the buildup of local defence industry becomes a very costly and complex undertaking.

The magnitude of any effort to establish a local defence industry is apparent if we study the structure of industry in the United States. There are some 95 major enterprises involved in defence production. But, in addition, there may be as many as five tiers of sub-contractors involved in one final product, comprising small firms in the machinery and electronic sectors. It is impossible in a developing country to erect an entire infrastructure.

Further, it may also be noted that transfer of technology means import of foreign expertise at various levels. And the producers are not the government but individual enterprises—General Electric, Bofors, Siemens, CSF-Thompson. It may also be pertinent of mention that the latest weapon technology is by definition a capital-intensive technology which has developed according to the needs of the industrialised world.

Total production capacity ranges from the mere assembly of imported sub-assemblies to the entire process connected with indigenously research and development weapon system. Normally the sequence when building-up a domestic arms industry is to begin by setting up an overhaul and maintenance plant for weapons already in service with the national armed forces. The second step is to import sub-assembled or "knocked down" weapons and assembly them at a local plant; followed by the next phase of assembling of imported components locally; next the components are manufactured locally from imported raw materials; the final being to produce most of the raw materials. Except

in the case of some less sophisticated and obsolete weaponry, the last stage is hardly ever reached.

The normal procedure of acquiring technical know-how in the field of armament production is complimented by three less common methods: (1) the import not only of a production licence, but of an entire production line; (2) the investment in an established producer country in a specific new weapon project; (3) the "reverse engineering." The first two methods are open only to favoured countries.

The third method, 'reverse engineering' or 'copying' has mainly been successfully followed by China, from the time of its break with the Soviet Union in 1960. This is a difficult course to follow requiring hard work and hardships. The Chinese produced MiG 19 and T-55 tanks.

The reason why established arms producing countries decide to part with military know-how are mainly political followed by economic. Traditionally, now the only superpower and West European arms producing countries are reluctant to share their weapon know-how and production capacity with countries other than those belonging to NATO or to countries which have been cleared for development. India got licence for MiG-21 fighter and ATOLL air-to-air missile in 1963, because of the then Soviet politics in South Asia.

In the case of United States, the transfer of know-how to countries outside NATO has to be exempted from the normal arms export regulations. Under the so-called Carter policy of arms export such transfers were explicitly prohibited. The United States will not permit co-production agreements with other countries for significant weapons, equipment and major components. But the sale of production licence was made for the F5-E Tiger Fighter to South Korea and Taiwan. In fact all the armament produced by Israel, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, South Africa and Brazil is of Western origin.

It is necessary that in order to have a pragmatic approach and a correct picture of the potential, whenever considering transfer of technology, that consideration be given to the following aspects honestly:

- a) How diversified is the country's industry: is there already a competent industrial base with skilled manpower and a minimum level of research and development facilities available?
- b) Can production cost be kept low given the small production runs? Are there possibilities of export of items produced?
- c) To what extent will financial resources of the country be allocated to install the production facilities?
- d) At what political and financial cost the transfer of technology is being arranged?

While going for transfer of technology, we in the Third World must understand that:

- a) The suppliers, the industrialised countries, are obliged, quite logically, to keep the newest military secrets in their countries. They only export those arms and weapon systems which have an "export licence", meaning that the "best" technology is not exported—only the "second" or "third" best is sold abroad depending on what is the relationship with the buyer. There is a difference between the "export model" and "home model";
- b) The buyer in the under-developed countries is technologically less informed and does not know whether his imports are obsolete by some standards or not. Nor is he aware in what way his imports are out of date, because these matters are connected with military secrecy rule. The technology bought may be the 'newest' according to the military adviser (often from the supplier country) and according to sales agents or advertisements—and two years later one may discover that some new innovations have made the purchases obsolete. Electronic equipment becomes obsolete rather quickly;
- c) Pricing policy is normally based on lower price for readymade arms than for parts and technology transfer.
- d) Technology coming from the developed world also represents an industrial concept of warfare. Thus it can have significant impact on not only in military affairs and production but also on culture as new values and habits are introduced;
- e) A developing country in transfer of technology is motivated to ensure independence; but more complex the technology desired, the more contradictory are the goals of independence;
- f) Electronics, radar network, C3 systems, engines for aircrafts, ships and tanks as well as more sophisticated weaponry have proved to be complicated affairs;
- g) The technology arrangements usually prevent developing countries from becoming totally independent producers. Who would want to create competitors? Normally such agreements ensure strong dependence on foreign experts, spares and services.

Let us accept that under the existing circumstances it will not be possible for any one country to embark on a meaningful venture single-handedly. A joint strategy by Muslim countries for armament production is to be formulated. The policy guidelines laying down the broad parameters, covering major items to be produced by countries involved, allocation of resources etc. should be accepted and laid down.

Muslim countries do not lack in resources but are wanting in a coordinated action. We have all the resources required to develop an industrial base that can easily create an industrial-cum-defence production

structure. We have manpower, finances, technical know-how and raw material. What is needed is an organisation to harness and coordinate these.

To start with, an organisation consisting of experts from Muslim countries be formed. This body should decide as to what items are to be produced. Perhaps the list could be restricted to missiles, aircraft and small warships. As an example, perhaps, Turkey, Egypt, and Indonesia can go into aircraft development and production; Pakistan, Iran and Saudi Arabia could be involved in small ships. It would be obligatory for the member countries to buy equipment produced by the organisation member countries. Thus the development of aircraft, ships, missiles should be such that broad requirements of member countries are met.

Development of industrial-cum-organisation complexes be on a joint basis with firms and production units in various member countries. There could be joint ventures with foreign selected parties who may really be keen due to financial motives to develop Muslim countries' industrial efforts and not to sabotage it.

So far China has been the only country to offer us help in defence production. Main battle tank and the recently flown aircraft manufactured by joint efforts are the examples of collaboration efforts. Both of these items come from China fully completed. We do not know what was our role and share in its production.

Indigenously Produced Military Trucks Delivered
93AS0793D Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER
in English 19 Apr 93 p 12

[Italicized words as published]

[Text] Karachi, April 8: The first lot of Yasoob, a fully Pakistani assembled military truck locally designed and engineered by the Trans Mobile Limited in joint venture with Pakistan Automobile Corporation (PACO) will be delivered to Pakistan Army on April 10.

This was stated by the Managing Director of Trans Mobile Limited (TML) Muzzamil Niazi at a briefing given to Federal Secretary Defence Production Azhar Rafi at Bin Qasim today.

Muzzamil Niazi said that Pakistan Army has placed order of 3,000 assembly-cum-manufacturing of Yasoob trucks. These trucks will be handed over to army in five years time period.

He said army has won in the face of international competition and truck is therefore, designed to the

highest international specifications. Prototypes were built and supplied to the Pakistan Army in mid 1990. They were thoroughly and exhaustively tested, modifications were suggested, made and the vehicles were approved for the induction in the army.

TML will start production of Yasoob trucks in June, 1993. The factory has been located on 20 acre site at Bin Qasim, he said.

The total cost of a truck manufactured here at the TML will be around 50,000 to 60,000 dollars almost half of the price of the imported truck.

He told the Federal Secretary that since the maximum stress is being laid on the local manufacture of components in the manufacture of Yasoob vehicles, the conclusion of the contract for supply of tactical trucks calls for much more than the setting up an assembly plant.

He said that we have decided to set up five separate plants for the manufacture of engines, axles, transmission, propeller shaft and clutches, in this context he said that agreements have been signed with the manufactures of engines, transmission, axles, clutches etc. for the transfer of technology for buy backs and investment in Pakistan.

While the truck assembly plant is under construction, work is underway on business plans for the other five to six joint venture companies which are to be set up for progressive manufacture of major components for local consumption and for exports. The aim is to achieve a level of export of components within five years, he said.

He said that PACO enjoys 40 per cent shares in TML while Pak-Kuwait, 15 per cent NDFC [National Development Finance Corporation], nine per cent, Management Pakistan Limited 16 per cent while negotiations are underway to have shares from International Finance Corporation (IFC), and Central Development Corporation (CDC) of UK.

Chairman PACO Javed Burki also briefed the Federal Secretary about the salient features of the Yasoob trucks.

Col. Minhajul Hasan of TML told *Business Recorder* that we have given orders to local vendors for the manufacturing of some of the components used in these trucks.

He said Pakistani vendors are quite capable and are as efficient as foreign vendors. We have appointed foreign consultants who will check the quality of the components being manufactured by them.

Government Education Policy Attacked

93AS0793G Karachi DAWN in English 11 Apr 93 p 9

[Text] Islamabad, April 10: Journalists and educationists at a seminar on education policy '92 held here on Friday criticised the education policy and demanded its reconsideration and formulation according to the aspiration of the people.

The seminar is being organised by the Institute of Policy Study [IPS].

Chairman of the IPS, Senator Prof. Khurshid Ahmed, explained the objectives of the seminar and said it will provide an opportunity to the writers, educationists and intellectuals to discuss the education policy '92 and present their suggestions.

Editor of an Urdu weekly, in his paper on "National Education Policy 1992 and National Objectives," criticised the Education Policy and said the scholars, Ulama and intellectuals were not consulted before formulating the 1992 Education Policy. He said that no proposal has been given in the policy for ending the present education system based on two classes.

He pointed out that Urdu was totally ignored in the 1992 education policy. China, Japan, France, Korea and some other countries, which adopted national language in their education systems, have achieved tremendous development in every field, he added.

He said we can achieve real development as well as maintain our religious entity by rooting out the education system left by the British.

He regretted that in spite of promise, the Government has not yet fulfilled its commitment to establish separate women university.

Appreciating establishment of national testing service, he said it is a positive step, but only students of international school, American school and such kind of other institutions could pass the test as students of ordinary schools cannot succeed due to the existing standard of these schools.

Dr. Waheed Qureshi from Karachi University, while reading out his paper, regretted that every government made mere promises to improve the standard of education. Due to lack of political commitment, no government could give priority to promoting education in the country, he added.

He said "due to political pressure on the governments, we could not implement education policy in the past."

Expressing reservations regarding the Education Policy, he said that those people who were consulted while formulating the 1992 education policy have no links with education.

He said "Islamic education was not touched in the new education policy which, he termed, as deviation from the basic idea of the creation of the country.

He opposed more powers to Vice Chancellors and deployment of police force in the educational institutions saying that this trend is damaging the credibility of educational institutions.

He said there is no fruitful suggestion in the education policy to spread education in the villages.

Special measures should be taken for training of students to make them good citizen, he added.—PPI

PTV Seen Unable To Compete With Satellite Channels

93AS0776C Karachi HERALD in English
15 Apr 93 pp 81-82

[Article by Zohra Yousuf: "Channel Bore"]

[Text] Pitted against other satellite channels and totally devoid of any imaginative input, PTV2 has failed to capture audience interest either at home or further afield...

When television was first introduced in Pakistan in 1964, one of the primary stated objectives of the medium was the spread of education. However, with its acknowledged effectiveness as a propaganda medium, television's role as source of information (or disinformation) developed to the detriment of education. Viewer-ship needs and commercial concerns ensured that entertainment, too, received greater priority in terms of production and programming.

In 1972, the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto took the first meaningful step towards promoting education on television. ETV (Educational Television) was set up which, while sharing the same channel as other programmes, telecast specially produced educational programmes during morning and afternoon transmissions. Ranging from functional literacy programmes to those imparting specialised knowledge (particularly in the field of agriculture), ETV met some of the original objectives of television in Pakistan.

Right from the inception of television in Pakistan, the government had stated its commitment to the setting up of a separate channel for education. It was also part of the agreement with the Nippon Electric Company (NEC), the Japanese company that assisted in the setting up of television in Pakistan. The project, however, kept getting shelved year after year—primarily because education has never been a priority with governments in Pakistan. Secondly, the financial prospects of subsidising a new channel was something no government could muster any enthusiasm for. Ultimately, according to some reports, it was only when the NEC threatened to

pull out of the project unless the government kept to its part of the deal, that the educational channel, PTV2, finally went on air.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif inaugurated PTV2—the channel with the charter to promote education—in Islamabad on November 24 last year, the date being the anniversary of the inception of television in Pakistan. The availability of satellite allows programmes to be transmitted nationwide from a single station. Moreover, with ASIASAT, PTV2 programmes can be viewed in other countries of the region—in the Middle East, as well as in South Asia.

Judging by programme content and geographical coverage, PTV2 clearly suffers in certain respects from an incompatibility between the programmes telecast and audience interest—the channel, in many cases, reaching the wrong viewers. Commencing transmission at five p.m., the channel remains on the air for five to six hours. However, most of the programmes scheduled before nine p.m. are educational. These range from basic lessons in reading, arithmetic, and similar topics to documentaries and Allama Iqbal Open University courses. The post-Khabarnama slot consists of re-runs of popular PTV soaps—Waris, Doosra Kinara, and the like.

The programmes telecast by PTV2 are often quite off-target as far as audiences, both local and international, are concerned. While the channel has managed to reach areas which had remained inaccessible to PTV1, the Northern Areas for example, programme reception in many parts of the country remains quite poor. Even in

many urban households, PTV2 can be viewed only with the facility of a dish antenna. Beyond Pakistan's borders, the educational programmes not only lose their relevance, but their sheer drabness deters viewers from switching on to PTV2. Meanwhile, the pathetic content and quality of Khabarnama makes PTV2 an unlikely alternative to either BBC or CNN, both of which now cover Asia as well. The only programmes to have attracted audiences, and that too in India and Bangladesh, are PTV drama series. Clearly, PTV2 is still far from meeting the competitive challenge of the international networks beaming down their programmes to Asia through various satellites.

Within Pakistan, the second channel seems to be stuck with PTV1's hand-me-downs. The educational programmes telecast appear to have been dredged out from another age, most of them using the classroom approach to education—with blackboards, chalks and instructors who talk down to audiences. Totally devoid of any imaginative input, the programme producers appear completely oblivious to the potential of the audio-visual medium. Without resorting to gimmickry, educational programmes can be made more interesting and effective using simple graphics and animation. Presently, the medium is being treated as a static one and little thought is given to the fact that today, even villagers have received exposure to the audio-visual medium and their grasp and expectations are much higher than in the past.

As an educational channel; there is great potential for the development of PTV2. But this potential needs to be explored fully in consultation with educationists and communication specialists.